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Lincoln's Divided Backyard: Maryland in the Civil War Era

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ABSTRACT

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Maryland in the mid-nineteenth century was a state trying to balance its regional ties to both an agrarian culture based on the institution of slavery and an industrializing, urban culture. Caught in between two warring societies, Marylanders themselves were unsure of their identity given the rapid changes of the late antebellum decades. This study argues Maryland's cultural identity shifted from being a "southern" state in 1861 to being a "northern" state by 1865 in the minds of its own citizens as well as in the minds of politicians, soldiers, and civilians from other parts of the nation. This transition was the result of economic, political, and social changes that took place in the state during the late antebellum period, although cultural and ideological recognition of this shift did not occur until the war brought Maryland's dual identities into focus and compelled state citizens to choose a side in the conflict. A minority of citizens contested the state's "northern" identity both during and after the war, but the new cultural identity remained dominant largely because northern industrial, urban, and demographic patterns were already well-established and Union military policies directed most Marylanders' political and economic behavior towards a loyal and northern-looking orientation by the end of the war. Understanding these cultural dynamics in a border state like Maryland helps to clarify our vision of complicated and competing ideologies in mid-nineteenth century America.

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Introduction

It was a cold winter day in January 1861. Since the November 1860 election, four southern states had seceded from the Union, and just two days before the *Star of the West* had come under fire in Charleston Harbor as it attempted to re-supply federal troops at Fort Sumter. With political tensions high, a visibly troubled man sat in the executive mansion shuffling through the day's mail when his gaze fell upon a letter from J. M. Lucas, the postmaster of the U.S. House of Representatives. Lucas wrote to his friend: "I am in receipt of daily intelligence from the west, which fully justifies me in stating that the eyes of the great north west is [sic] turned to you with more intenseness than to any any [sic] other man in the country. Prayers are constantly being offered up to Almighty God, even from lips who have but seldom prayed, that He will strengthen, sustain, and confirm you in the high and noble stand you have taken on the side of the Union. . . ."

Modern readers might presume that these words were addressed to President Abraham Lincoln, but they were not. The letter continues, "Maryland, is regarded by all Union men as the key that would unlock the floodgates of intes[t]ine warfare, but, your noble stand is doing more to thwart their treasonable designs than all the congressional Committees [sic] in existence." The man reading these words was Thomas Holliday Hicks, governor of Maryland from 1858 to 1862.[1] Indeed, as Lucas points out, Maryland was the strategic middle ground during the secession crisis, and the state played a crucial role in determining Lincoln's early wartime policies. In fact, Maryland was a bellwether state for many attitudes in the era of the Civil War. As a border state, the political, social, and economic currents from both the North and South combined there, creating unique

[1] Letter from J. M. Lucas to Thomas H. Hicks dated January 11, 1861, Thomas H. Hicks Papers, MS. 1313, Special Collections, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

patterns that shed light on continuing renegotiations of both American and southern cultural identity in the mid-nineteenth century.

Today most people would say that Maryland was a northern state, with little doubt or real opposition to that idea from the state's own citizens or from those in other parts of the country. In fact, in parts of the Deep South someone claiming to come from Maryland is likely to be met with the response "Oh, up north that way, near Boston right?" This condensing of Northeast geography is humorous for those familiar with the East Coast, but the idea behind the comment reinforces the concept that Maryland is firmly fixed in the cultural identity of the North—not just the Mid-Atlantic region, but considered part of New England too. But this was not always the case—up until the Civil War, Maryland was accepted as a southern state. Maryland's "move north" actually came during the Civil War. Yet this transition of cultural identity did not occur simply as the result of the end of slavery in the state during 1864. Instead, the process of Maryland's transition from "southern" to "northern" culture actually began at the start of the nineteenth century, building in complexity and creating a multi-faceted personality for the state by 1860. Marylanders themselves were not clear how the multitude of changes in their society during the 1840s and 1850s affected the future of slavery or industry respectively in the Old Line State, although they clung to their southern identity in 1860–1861 all the same. The present study attempts to tease out the story of this cultural redefinition as it took place in Maryland during the Civil War.

Maryland throughout the antebellum era was a state negotiating its identity amid growing sectional tensions on the national level and developing immigration, urban, and racial tensions on a local level. Despite increasing industrialization in the central and

western portions of the state throughout the late antebellum decades, ties that brought the state closer to the North and a wage labor model for social organization, a significant number of Marylanders—including those who did not own slaves—still identified with traditional business, cultural, and social ties to the southern states. Meanwhile, thanks to manumission trends that dated back to the Revolution, the state's black population had become literally half slave, half free. All of these factors combined to pull Maryland in various directions simultaneously, although even by 1860 the state's political leadership and most of its white citizens still believed that they did not have to choose between wage labor or a slave labor system because the two were not incompatible in their own experience and thinking.

With that being said, Marylanders in the antebellum era saw themselves as southerners. During the contentious 1850s Marylanders pushed for compromise from the position of a neutral mediator, knowing that their geographical location put them in the center of any conflict that broke out. But they did so with the caveat that they sympathized with the plight of the southern states if forced to choose a side. When the southern states began to secede in the winter of 1860–61, Maryland was caught amid the national struggle. In many ways, Marylanders were caught unprepared for two reasons: given the divergent economic and social trends in their own state, citizens were unsure of who they were becoming, and in their own confusion they were reluctant to take a stand with either side. Second, they still hoped that yet another compromise could be crafted to avert the outbreak of war, given that political turmoil throughout their lifetimes had, to that point, been resolved peacefully. But that did not happen. And as a consequence of Marylanders' general indecisiveness, and the firm commitment of Governor Thomas

Hicks to prevent the legislature from convening in a special session and rashly voting on secession when tensions were at their height, Maryland remained in the Union.

Maryland's decision to remain in the Union was heavily influenced by events in Virginia and by federal policy as well. Because Maryland would be isolated from the rest of the South had the state seceded before Virginia and North Carolina—and it was not clear in April 1861 before Fort Sumter that the Upper South would in fact secede—the few hard-line secessionists who were in Maryland had to await Virginia's move, which did not come until April 17, 1861.[2] Virginia's secession was precipitated by Lincoln's call for troops following the battle at Fort Sumter, which enflamed passions in most of the Upper South and border slave states. In rapid succession, Virginia's vote was followed two days later by the Pratt Street Riot in Baltimore as northern soldiers responded to the president's call. The riot on April 19 occurred when Massachusetts troops made their way through the streets of the Baltimore toward Washington. Crowds of southern sympathizers were so incensed by the movement of Union troops in their city that a riot broke out between soldiers and civilians; violence and the general melee were only curtailed by city and state officials' decision to burn the railroad bridges leading into Baltimore to prevent the transport of additional Union soldiers.

At that point, unable to delay calling the legislature any longer, the pro-Union Governor Hicks brought the legislature into special session in late April to address the violent crisis and more broadly the divided loyalties of the people. However, in the course of the two weeks between the riot and the end of April when the General Assembly would meet, Benjamin Butler in command of the Massachusetts Militia had

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[2] Discussions of the attack on the *Star of the West* and Virginia's secession can be found in James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York, 1988), p. 266 and 279 respectively.

already bypassed the sabotaged railroads north of Baltimore and landed soldiers at the state capital in Annapolis. Butler moved quickly to seize control of the region, marching into Baltimore in mid-May. While President Lincoln had not ordered Butler to take these steps, he accepted the outcome and encouraged Butler to control Maryland via instructions sent through General-in-Chief of Union Armies Winfield Scott.

Meanwhile, the General Assembly convened in the western town of Frederick instead of Annapolis to avoid federal interference, but the dampening affect of military occupation was already felt. Although they protested federal actions in the state, they also passed a resolution stating the legislature was not authorized to vote on secession at that time, as it required a convention voted on by the people. They ended their session in May. In other words, their decision was to use constitutional rules to obscure the fact that they were not willing to secede (at that time anyway), so as to not antagonize the South while suggesting the possibility that they would remain loyal (hoping federal occupation would not escalate). But the wording of their resolution also implied their right to consider secession at a later date by calling a convention of the people (a process that was not immediate and decisive, and which could have been opposed by federal authorities). Since this was the decision at the height of the crisis in April, when there was strong support for the southern cause among the Eastern Shore and southern Maryland representatives, then it is fair to say that Maryland *chose* not to secede by the General Assembly's decision not to vote on the matter themselves. Moreover, not only did Maryland lack strong fire-eater leadership to propel the state out of the Union, the majority of the legislators were uncertain about dissolving the Union in the first place, since so many Marylanders were still hopeful for compromise, even if it meant

recognition of southern independence. To that end, the majority of Marylanders still supported the institution of slavery—but it is important to note that they did not equate a defense of slavery with secession just as the Unionists in the state generally did not support coercion to preserve the Union.

Regardless, Lincoln could not afford to allow Maryland to decide which heritage or identity it would follow; he had a higher responsibility to preserve the nation's capital and prepare for the defense of Washington in case of war. Thus, when the Maryland General Assembly reconvened again in September—with the issue of secession still looming in the picture despite the number of Union troops in the state—Lincoln dealt with that threat by ordering the arrest of members of the legislature known to be in opposition to the federal government. This action effectively ensured that neither the legislature through a direct vote nor the people of Maryland through a convention (called by the legislature) would vote on the issue of secession. Both the events of April and those of September encouraged many individuals who were on the proverbial secession fence to think twice about opposing federal rule, knowing that the likelihood of their own arrest for pro-southern or anti-administration speech, let alone behavior, grew stronger with each passing month. Additional measures were taken in the elections during the fall of 1861 to make certain a loyal government was elected in the state, including stationing soldiers at the polls, which assured by January 1862 that Maryland would not depart from the Union.

But the state's history of divided loyalties did not cease immediately in 1861. Throughout the war citizens chose to vote with their feet by joining Confederate (or Union) units or by supporting one or another army when the opportunity came. Most

citizens supported the Union cause, but a sizeable minority early in the war did not do so, and often times their actions or words were quite loud in the ears of Union soldiers and federal officials. Those opposing the Union cause decreased over time, and became a small minority by 1865. Marylanders experienced the deprivation, destruction, and divided loyalties that faced many civilians in the border states; southern "invasions" brought the war to Maryland during the Antietam Campaign in 1862, the Gettysburg Campaign in 1863, and Jubal Early's Raid in 1864, in addition to the numerous smaller skirmishes and incursions that occurred regularly throughout the war. All of these events dampened the spirits of even the most hearty Unionists or southern-sympathizers, as one would expect, leading to a general disillusionment with the war by 1865 that played a role in how quickly the state was "redeemed" by the Democratic Party in the postwar years. Although ex-Confederate Marylanders were re-enfranchised by 1867, and although the state did not resoundingly endorse emancipation that came with the Union Party's new state constitution in 1864, Maryland had by the end of the war transitioned to a northern state—both in the minds of its citizens and in the minds of individuals from other parts of the nation. The postwar Lost Cause movement and reluctance to recognize the civil rights of the freedmen, like the low intensity resistance provided by southern-sympathizers throughout the war, were merely backlashes at the inevitable progression of their state from a map of the South to a map of the North. As has been stated, most Marylanders remained loyal, even if they resented federal occupation and political control, and most accepted that the growing industry, urbanization, and diversified agriculture were positive developments for Maryland.

As will be seen, the soldiers entering the state were, in fact, the first to comment on the changing cultural identity of Maryland. Both Confederate and Union soldiers enter the state in 1861 conceiving of the people and landscape as southern; and, ironically, both Johnny Rebs and Billy Yanks would have agreed in 1865 that Maryland was a northern state. During 1862 and 1863 the state effectively shifted from being a southern state in the national consciousness to a northern state because of the effects of state and federal policies, as well as the behavior of its citizens—a transition that was then carried to the homefront by the soldiers in letters, conversations, or newspaper editorials, where it took hold and created a new cultural identity for the state. Marylanders themselves began to see by 1862 and 1863 that their state had been moving towards a northern wage labor model of urban and industrial growth for quite some time, helping them to accept the new identity too. And, if they disagreed, as a minority did, they quickly learned the penalty was constant supervision and searches by federal authorities, and possible imprisonment, for their dissent. In the larger scheme of things, however, Maryland's cultural shift sheds light on the border state experience in the nineteenth century as well as on American and southern cultures generally as they were defined and redefined in the Civil War era.

Unfortunately, Maryland's experiences have, by and large, been overlooked by scholars. Even the recent scholarly studies of the Upper South and the border states tend to focus on Missouri, North Carolina, and Kentucky. Granted the guerrilla violence in Missouri and the importance of Kentucky to Union armies attempting to subdivide and conquer the South are key elements of the Civil War narrative as well, the events in Maryland deserve mention too—yet one of the most influential studies of the occupied

South omits Maryland from the discussion altogether.[3] Maryland, as a slaveholding state that also had a burgeoning industrial economy centered around Baltimore, clearly had commercial, kinship, and cultural ties to both the North and South. With a population that was half slave, half free, and an internal identity crisis that made the state of two minds—split almost precisely down the middle between the Eastern Shore and southern Maryland on the southern-leaning side and central and western Maryland on the more northern-leaning side—the state presents an excellent case study to focus on the various social, cultural, political, and racial dynamics that were tearing the nation apart in 1860.

Maryland also allows for a reexamination of the scholarship on the formation of Lincoln's early war policies—toward southern civilians, free blacks, and women, including his ideas for reconstruction— and demonstrates the impact of these policies on both the war and the home front. Taken in the context of the tremendous diversity of developments going on in the state during the antebellum years—almost a microcosm of the United States, as the old state advertisement "America in miniature" goes—and the postwar re-entrenchment of backward-looking racial policies, Maryland has a lot to offer scholars of the South as well as scholars of American history in general. A comprehensive, balanced, and scholarly look at Maryland during the Civil War era is truly necessary.

A number of state histories—that span the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries—have chapters on Maryland and the Civil War.[4] Although they offer a general

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[3] Mark Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy Toward Southern Civilians 1861–1865* (Cambridge, UK, 1995).

[4] Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland: Province and State* (1929; Hatboro, Pa, 1965); Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds., *Maryland—A History, 1632–1974* (Baltimore, 1974); Morris L. Radoff, ed., *The Old Line State, A History of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1971); J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland from the earliest period to the present day*, 3 vols., (1879; Hatboro, Pa, 1967), and *History of Western Maryland; being a history of Frederick, Montgomery, Carroll, Washington, Allegany, and Garrett*

narrative of events, they typically lack detail and primary source material due to the space constraints in this genre of work. Additionally, perhaps the most frequently referenced work by modern scholars, a study written by J. Thomas Scharf in the late nineteenth century that includes a substantial amount of detail on virtually a day-to-day level, is also one that raises the most significant interpretive questions given the author's service in the Confederate Army during the war.[5] Other early general histories of Maryland incorporate many aspects of the political and military history, but they lack a strong analytical or conceptual framework to bind together the disparate people and places, and of course are shaped by nineteenth-century attitudes. Recent studies offer a more coherent examination of the state history, although they focus less on social history and frequently lose the reader with unclear chronology and connections between individuals and events.[6]

Counties from the earliest period to the present day... (1882; Baltimore, 1968); and Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634–1980* (Baltimore, 1988).

[5] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland from the earliest period to the present day*, 3 vols., (1879; Hatboro, Pa, 1967). Scharf also does not cite the sources for many of his quotations, making it difficult to know which newspaper or document he is using, and in some sense, highlighting the potential interpretive bias in his work. He does seem to emphasize the extreme cases of oppression for Maryland citizens. As such, I have tried not to rely on his works, or other individuals whose interpretations rely heavily on his work, in this study. Although he is not pushing for a single interpretation quite as clearly as the Lost Cause writers Bradley T. Johnson or W. W. Goldsborough, I still have chosen not to rely on Scharf's accounts or claims when other primary source evidence to verify those details is unavailable.

[6] Richard Duncan's dissertation "The Social and Economic Impact of the Civil War on Maryland" is probably one of the few balanced (not attempting to argue that Maryland would/should have seceded) studies that brings together the events of the war into one coherent narrative. His focus, however, is primarily on the economic changes wrought by the war, with the second half of the dissertation focusing on the social changes, and specifically the effects of emancipation, in the state. He begins the study in 1860, however, leaving the reader unsure of how Maryland fits into a larger national picture or how Maryland's economy got to that point in 1860. Likewise, he does not look at the element of cultural change that I am incorporating, and my work also differs because I examine the soldiers' accounts of the state and their role in disseminating these new ideas/identities to the rest of the nation. Richard Duncan, "The Social and Economic Impact of the Civil War on Maryland," Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1963).

Beyond these universal studies, there are a number of articles that consider particular aspects of Maryland during the war.[7] One particularly good example can be found in the recent compendium *Mid-Maryland: A Crossroads of History*. Edith Wallace's "War on the Homefront," by using diaries, images, and soldiers' accounts to illustrate the horrors of war for both combatants and non-combatants, examines the reaction and sentiments of the residents in Washington County following the battle of Antietam.[8] While some of these articles briefly contextualize their subject, they are mainly a collection of countless disparate voices and stories that need to be assembled and highlighted in one analytical narrative.

Narrowing the historiographical nets somewhat, we come to the books and dissertations that are specific studies of the state during the war. Although its title sounds promising, Daniel Carroll Toomey's *The Civil War in Maryland* is a compilation of dates and events from the *Official Records*—more or less a list—with very brief passages at the beginning of each chapter moving the story of the war from year to year.[9] *Maryland and the Confederacy* by Harry Newman is a history of Maryland throughout the war, but one

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[7] The *Maryland Historical Magazine* has published a number of studies relating to some aspect of the Civil War in Maryland over its one hundred year history as a scholarly publication. In addition, the journal *Civil War History* has a few articles relating to Maryland or the border south. As a result, this list is by no means comprehensive and is instead intended to be merely representative of some of the key articles and areas of inquiry on this topic. Articles on Maryland in the Civil War include: Frank Towers, "Job Busting at Baltimore Shipyards: Racial Violence in the Civil War-Era South," *Journal of Southern History* 66 (May 2000): 221–56; Laurence F. Schmeckebier, "History of the Know Nothing Party in Maryland," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Series XVII, Nos. 4–5, (April–May 1899); William S. Myers, "The Self-Reconstruction of Maryland, 1864–1867," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Series XXVII, Nos. 1–2, (Jan.–Feb. 1909); James Warner Harry, "The Maryland Constitution of 1851," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Series XX, Nos. 7–8, (July –August 1902); T. Stephen Whitman, "Industrial Slavery at the Margin: The Maryland Chemical Works," *Journal of Southern History* 59 (Feb. 1993): 31–62; Bayly E. Marks, "Skilled Blacks in Antebellum St. Mary's County, Maryland," *Journal of Southern History* 53 (Nov. 1987): 537–64; and Paula Stoner Reed, "The Hermitage on the Monocacy," in *Catoctin History* 1 (Fall 2002):18–21.

[8] Edith Wallace, "War on the Homefront: Sharpsburg Residents during the Battle of Antietam," in Michael Powell and Bruce Thompson, eds., *Mid-Maryland: A Crossroads of History* (London, 2005), pp. 95–110.

[9] Daniel Carroll Toomey, *The Civil War in Maryland* (1983; Baltimore, 1996).

that largely draws on secondary sources and is structured as a series of only loosely related topical essays. Furthermore, Newman's stated purpose is to correct the "Northern point-of-view" he sees as endemic in the Maryland historiography.[10] Several other studies take this same stance—written with an emphasis on proving that Maryland would have seceded had President Lincoln and Governor Hicks not intervened, an argument rather difficult to sustain—including Lawrence Denton's and Bart Rhett Talbert's books.[11]

Harold Manakee's 1961 *Maryland in the Civil War* is a more scholarly look at the state.[12] He spends the first half of the book, sixty pages, discussing the effects of John Brown's Raid, the Pratt Street Riot, and military control in Maryland before briefly covering the battles and prison camps that were in the state, followed by the Lincoln assassination. The remainder of the book is dedicated to unit histories and short soldier biographies for Maryland's Union and Confederate troops. Overall the book provides some coherence for a story of the state during the war, although it does not adequately cover the political and social effects of the war after 1861, and the larger story is still rather episodic. Additionally, like James McPherson, Manakee attributes strong Unionism to the central and western portions of the state, which, while generally accurate, also misses a significant undercurrent of opposition to the Lincoln administration that existed in those regions (some related to southern sympathies, and some not).[13] Washington, Frederick, Carroll, Montgomery, Baltimore, and Howard

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[10] Harry Wright Newman, *Maryland and the Confederacy* (Annapolis, Md.,1976). Newman is one of several private individuals who have written about Maryland in the Civil War.
[11] Lawrence M. Denton, *A Southern Star for Maryland: Maryland and the Secession Crisis, 1860–1861* (Baltimore, 1995); Bart Rhett Talbert, *Maryland: The South's First Casualty* (Berryville, Va, 1995).
[12] Harold R. Manakee, *Maryland in the Civil War* (Baltimore, 1961).
[13] Ibid., pp. 17–18.

counties—can not be so easily dismissed as Unionist in sentiment. Richard Cox's *Civil War Maryland* is set up with mini chapters on various aspects or individuals of war-time Maryland much like Manakee's work, although focusing on the more "popular" tales of Richard Zarvona (a Virginian captured for attacking a federal vessel on the Chesapeake Bay), Anna Ella Carroll (a Maryland woman who kept up a large correspondence with the federal government although it is doubtful she originated the plan for the Tennessee Campaign as is frequently claimed), and Barbara Fritchie (made famous by John Greenleaf Whittier's poem, although the facts of the prose have long been questioned by historians).[14]

There are three political studies of Maryland during the period 1850 to 1870. William J. Evitts in *A Matter of Allegiances* looks at Maryland during the period 1850 to 1861, providing a detailed look at political parties and voting patterns in the state.[15] Evitts examines some newspaper editorials and citizens' reactions to events, like the April 19 riot, but the focus of his work is the dual party system that remained stable in Maryland during this decade (whereas in the South the ascendancy of the Democratic Party helped to lessen opposition to the secessionism by creating one-party systems). After considering these political sentiments and figures, he concludes that "Unionism . . . was always uppermost in Maryland."[16] Jean H. Baker's *The Politics of Continuity* similarly follows the party system in Maryland, focusing on the Know-Nothings and the

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[14] Another one of the chapters is entitled "Richard Sears McCulloch: The Civil War's 'Chemical Ali?'" and addresses McCulloch's 1865 experiments with a petroleum-based incendiary substance and likewise his lethal gas experiments with cats in Richmond, which used a liquid McCulloch claimed could be thrown onto the floor of the House of Representatives to assassinate leaders of the federal government in minutes. The substance of this chapter, like many others, is cherry-picked from various secondary sources; overall, the book offers little of substance to serious scholars. Richard P. Cox, *Civil War Maryland: Stories from the Old Line State* (Charleston, 2008).

[15] William J. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland from 1850 to 1861* (Baltimore, 1974).

[16] Ibid., 190.

implications of opposition parties in the state when southern Democrats began to push for secession.[17] These works, and Charles Branch Clark's 1941 dissertation on politics during the war,[18] are excellent political histories. At the same time, the present study builds on this scholarship by adding a social context for the political battles—similar to the way Eric Walther has used case studies of particular southern nationalists in *The Fire Eaters*—to illustrate how individuals responded to these developments and acted on their allegiances.[19] Here too, the story will be taken throughout the course of the war.

The time is ripe for a more comprehensive and comparative look at Maryland. This study offers that picture. The dissertation is organized by topic rather than chronology, which unfortunately creates some separation of a narrative that is in fact intertwined in space and time. Individuals were experiencing the politics and privations of war at the same time that soldiers were reimagining their cultural definitions of the state. However, addressing changes that occurred in related groups of events was more manageable than a straight chronological narrative, although the chapters generally proceed forward in time with only some overlap in chapters three and four.

The study begins with an examination of multiple facets of Maryland's identity in the antebellum decades. Chapter one teases out several important dynamics in this time period. Comparing developments in the four regions of the state—the Eastern Shore, southern Maryland, central Maryland, and western Maryland—the state's competing identity as a historically southern state and a developing northern state is brought to the forefront. Urbanization, industrialization, and the rapid expansion of transportation

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[17] Jean H. Baker, *The Politics of Continuity: Maryland Political Parties from 1858 to 1870* (Baltimore, 1973).
[18] Charles Branch Clark, "Politics in Maryland during the Civil War," Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1941.
[19] Eric H. Walther, *The Fire-Eaters* (Baton Rouge, 1992).

networks helped connect Maryland intimately to patterns of development in New England and other parts of the North. At the same time, the state's agricultural and demographic patterns, including its continuing commitment to slavery despite the rising number of free blacks, made the state's troubles virtually unique in both the North and the South. Immigration added further to the mix of people and ideologies in the state, only serving to hasten change in the 1850s and lead many white Marylanders down the path of nativism and violence. Marylanders were, by 1860, no longer clear on who they were or in which direction the state was going socially, economically, or politically.

Chapter two examines the politics of the antebellum decades, highlighting specifically developments of the 1850s—with the rise of the Know Nothing Party, the dominant party in Maryland far longer than it was in other parts of the nation—and continues the narrative into the first year of the war when the federal government establishes control in the state through military occupation and the rise of the Union Party with the fall election of 1861. Maryland's relationship with the federal government, and specifically with active intervention by federal soldiers, transitioned through three phases that are discussed in detail in this chapter (a general breakdown of Maryland's war experience is outlined in Figure 1 on the following page). First, from April 1861 to September 1861 was a time when federal authorities were consolidating military control in the state—through Butler's actions, the Rockville Expedition, and generally through the seizure of state weapons and the arrests of prominent and active southern-sympathizers to control the course of events in the state. Second, from September 1861 to December 1861 federal authorities sought to consolidate their political control over the state by establishing Union Party dominance in a election that was kept "orderly" by

Figure 1

Periodization of Maryland History in the Civil War Era

1800–April 1861	Antebellum decades are marked by Maryland's economic development, agricultural diversification, increasing immigrant population, and growing free black population, at the same time the state continues to trade heavily with the South and defends slavery.
April–Sept. 1861	First phase of federal intervention in the state; federal policies are directed at establishing military control across the territory, seizing weapons from disloyal militia units, and arresting the most dangerous individuals actively engaged in opposing the government.
Sept.–Dec. 1861	Second phase of federal intervention; focus of federal officials and Union soldiers revolves around establishing political control by arresting southern-sympathizing legislators and other city and state officials, and the control of state elections in November 1861 to ensure victory for the Union Party.
Jan. 1862–1865	Third phase of direct federal intervention; With the passage of the Treason Bill and control over state legislative and executive agendas, federal officials, provost marshals, and commanding officers, with the assistance of state officials and even state religious leaders, focus on restricting dissent as expressed in the speech and behavior of Maryland civilians—especially newspaper and visible leaders like local clergy.
Nov. 1864–Jan. 1866	Military Reconstruction marks the fourth phase, as the Union Party with the assistance of federal soldiers, steers through the legislature and a state ratifying election the constitution of 1864 ending slavery and reforming education, among other measures.
Feb. 1866–Nov. 1867	The final phase covers the rise of the Democratic Party in Maryland and the movement to re-write the state constitution, which passes with a majority of the voters in November 1867.

stationing Union soldiers at the polling places and disenfranchising some southern-sympathizing citizens. This pattern would be repeated throughout the war. Last, with the rise of the Union Party to power, which promised federal oversight and influence with state legislation, came a period of refining these policies to control less overt or less dangerous forms of dissent in the form of civilian speech and behavior. This began in January 1862 when the General Assembly, dominated by the Union Party, met for its first session—which included the passage of the Treason Act, establishing punishment—imprisonment and fines—for various disloyal and treasonous behaviors (including inciting someone else to say or do something disloyal). Between war weariness and federal policy, most of the opposition within the state was well under control by the fall of 1862, although events after the fall election of 1861 are discussed in chapter four.

The third chapter then transitions to the story of the soldiers, from both armies, as they made their way through Maryland during the course of the war. Like many of their counterparts on the homefront or in politics, the soldiers brought with them to war specific definitions of what it meant to be northern or southern based on the cultural baggage and assumptions they had gathered coming of age in the antebellum decades. Maryland, in 1861, was to them, a southern state. Throughout the course of the war, however, as northern troops saw places further South—or even in the Deep South—they began to question these received assumptions. And southern troops, who expected to be welcomed as heroes and deliverers in Maryland, instead encountered surprising Unionist sentiment, and as a consequence revised their views about the southerness of the state. By 1863, then, soldiers in both armies were beginning to question Maryland's identity,

and by 1865 soldiers, politicians, and even civilians on both sides considered Maryland to be a northern state.

Chapter four examines the civilian response to this changing identity, highlighting how the consolidation of federal authority, mentioned briefly in chapter two, helped the state transition to a northern identity. Here it is important to note that these policies were not the cause of Maryland's transition, as the state's industries and other prewar developments (covered in chapter one) were already moving the state in that direction despite the fact that the citizens were not fully aware of the implications of those trends at the time. The majority of Marylanders, including the over 160,000 African Americans, celebrated the state's new northern identity. A few southern-sympathizing civilians spent the rest of the war contesting the labels and identities that they saw as being "imposed" upon them, but they were a decided minority of the population. Moreover, their behavior during the war, and afterward which is discussed in the conclusion, is best seen as a backlash to the state's new identity, further reinforcing the idea that Maryland had already transition to a map of the North by 1865.

Chapter four also finishes the discussion of the third phase of federal control—refining restrictions on dissent—which overlapped with a fourth phase, one of military reconstruction. With the Union Party's majority, and the assistance of federal troops at the polls once again, a new state constitution was passed in the fall of 1864. The constitution, once passed in September, mandated emancipation in the state on November 1, 1864. And, although Maryland was beginning to see itself as a northern state, the slaveholders and supporters of slavery continued to push for compensation from the federal government for their emancipated slaves even into 1867. Maryland, in some

ways, begrudgingly gave up the last vestiges of slavery because of the social problems that many whites assumed would come with destruction of the old social hierarchy. Emancipation measures and basic rights for the freedmen would have to be enforced by Union soldiers at the outset. New legislation also made disenfranchisement of disloyal persons and ex-Confederates official state policy, as well as instituting educational reform and other "northern" policies at the state level. The period of military reconstruction lasted from November 1864 to January 1866 when the Department of Maryland was abolished (although technically the state remained under the purview of the Department of Washington, and was still watched closely by federal authorities in the post war years).

The concluding chapter covers the reconstruction period, beginning in 1865 and covering the end of the period of military reconstruction through January 1866. As the Democratic Party regained ascendency in the state in the spring of 1866, partly because federal troops were finally gone and Marylanders felt somewhat secure in voicing their opinions about federal policies and as a result of the way the new constitution had been pushed through by the Union Party in 1864, ex-Confederates began to have common cause even with unionists. The threats of black civil rights, including voting rights, and social equality discussed by radical Republican leadership turned most Marylanders away from support of Congressional Reconstruction. They favored President Johnson's policies, and many cheered when he vetoed the civil rights bill (although his veto was later overturned).

Nonetheless, in the fall 1866 elections the Democratic Party would regain control of the state, largely on the basis of racial solidarity among whites, and the following year

the state created another constitution that marked the transition of power from Republicans to Democrats in Maryland—a border state (and milder) version of southern "redemption." Maryland's fifth time period is the story of the rise of the Democratic Party in the state between February 1866 and November 1867. In 1866 the General Assembly had already passed an act bestowing general amnesty on ex-Confederates, but the 1867 constitution reinforced their inclusion in the body politic—while at the same time excluding blacks from the vote and reducing the taxes previously allocated to public education. At the same time, it is important to note that redemption in Maryland was not the same thing as redemption in the Deep South. With the passage of the civil rights bill in 1866 and the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870, freedmen in Maryland were given basic rights like testifying in court and the right to vote, respectively, which were never again denied them in the state. Although segregation and other legal restrictions were created in post-Reconstruction Maryland, it was not as severe, or as deadly, as conditions became in the Deep South by 1900.

Although Maryland was, and still is, a northern state following the war, a minority of its citizens continued to contest that identity well into the twentieth century—actions that are best viewed as another period of backlash. The activities of ex-Confederates like Bradley T. Johnson, who set out to prove and then defend Maryland's southern virtue during the war through the literature of the Lost Cause movement, only serve to illustrate that Maryland was already excised from the South. The United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) did become active in the state in 1895, but focused on commemorating the birthdays of Confederate heroes and holding semi-annual meetings that appear to have been more social events than anything. The UDC did help bring a

Confederate statue to Baltimore, and the leader of the Baltimore chapter at one time in the early twentieth century protested the use of a particular textbook in several area colleges (which, it turned out, were not using that book), but generally the UDC remained a non-political organization.

In fact, just as it had during the antebellum years, the war years, and the immediate postwar years, race proved to be the only factor that encouraged more than a few ardent southern-nationalist hold-outs in the state to look backward to Maryland's southern past. The relative strength of the Ku Klux Klan in Maryland in the 1920s and 1930s—at a time when it was growing in strength throughout the nation—was in large part a response to growing agitation on the part of the state's African American population for access to better education, healthcare, and other facilities. It was also a response to early attempts to attack legal segregation by Charles Houston and Thurgood Marshall, who were, along with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, developing their legal strategy to attack Jim Crow. Maryland had moved into the North, but like many northern states in the mid-twentieth century, the problem of race relations was still ever-present. The history behind the state song, "Maryland, My Maryland" written as a pro-Confederate anthem in 1861 but adopted as the state song in 1939, in many ways is a microcosm of Maryland's shifting identity and the implications for race relations down to the present day. But the story must begin with Maryland as it was around 1800.

Chapter One

Maryland's Antebellum Dual Identity

It seems obvious to say that political questions bantered about in the cold winter air of 1860-1861 brought divided opinions in Maryland—it was a border state amid a divided nation, and like all the border states, it had its share of reluctant Unionists and hedging southern nationalists. But there was more to the story in Maryland, a state that was in reality half slave, half free. Historians have relegated Maryland to the background of the Civil War era, seeing a state that was sufficiently Unionist to weather the secession crisis and remain loyal, or a slave state that failed to join the Confederacy. Thereafter, Maryland is the backdrop for the Antietam Campaign, and a way-station en route to Gettysburg, but it is not the focus of any sustained inquiry about the border state experience. Unfortunately, this misses the point about Maryland, in much the same way that national leaders of the time took Maryland's identity for granted. By overlooking the state's vast array of political, social, economic, and demographic changes that confronted individual and regional identities throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, historians have ignored the very dilemma that faced Marylanders at the outbreak of the Civil War. Given all the developments in the Old Line State, and particularly the accelerating changes of the 1840s and 1850s, Marylanders really had no idea who they were in 1861.

Maryland is a prime example, although no means the only place, where ideologies and regional ties were interrogated and restyled in the antebellum years. Temperance and colonization movements found supporters alongside agricultural reform and industrial slave labor experiments; evangelical religion influenced hearts, minds, and politics; and

immigration altered life in cities and towns as much as the growing free black population challenged social and labor norms. The landscape looked, at times, as much European as it looked midwestern, northern, or southern. Indeed, dating back to the time of the Revolution, Marylanders displayed various identities within a mid-Atlantic, a southern, a national, and an international context. Examining the ways in which Maryland experienced change during the nineteenth century demonstrates how truly divisive issues had become by 1860 as well as how complex the picture could be in a region influenced so heavily by slavery and anti-slavery ideologies. It illustrates the key problem for the state in 1861: many white Marylanders lived comfortably in the juxtaposition of wage and slave labor systems, and they did not really stop to question the direction they were traveling until the Civil War forced the question of identity upon them.

For all its crops, slaves, and plantations, Maryland was far more than an agricultural region in 1861: for one thing, industrial development had spread across the landscape during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Iron forges expanded operations; textile mills and canning operations sprang up alongside countless creeks; new mining operations explored regional veins of copper, coal, and other ores; and the ship-building and cotton duck (sail fabric) industries grew with the expansion of the successful clipper ships. There were several reasons for the rapid development of industry in the state. First, the decades immediately following the Revolution saw significant demographic changes within Maryland, including the exponential growth of the city of Baltimore. Between 1790 and 1820 the city's population quadrupled, largely the result of increased international commercial ties that attracted both merchants and immigrants to the port city—bringing markets, labor, and entrepreneurs together.

Second, the trade in grains, specifically flour, brought a substantial influx of capital to Baltimore and central Maryland, allowing merchants and planters to invest their wartime profits in new industrial and commercial ventures. Baltimore experienced somewhat of an advantage here over rival ports in New York and Philadelphia, largely escaping war-time trade disruptions as well as the restrictions of the embargo through illicit trade, allowing for almost continuous growth. The third component was the explosion of transportation interests that connected the hinterland to Baltimore by the late 1830s.

Even before the War of 1812, investors sought to expand existing operations or build altogether new mills, forges, and other ventures—partly as a response to larger national trends to escape the traditional dependence on Britain for manufactured goods, now anathema to the newfound sense of American nationalism, but also for local reasons, seeking mechanical and chemical tools to improve the agricultural output of the state's farms and exhausted tobacco soils, as Avery Craven has shown in his study of soil exhaustion in the Chesapeake region.[1] Dating back to the colonial era, Maryland's pig iron industry was remarkably competitive (the colony being one of the leading producers of pig iron in the world prior to the Revolution). Thus in Maryland's iron industry, this influx of capital was initially directed toward expanding production (longer blast times) at existing forges. There was little incentive to build new furnaces until after the infusion of technology and skilled artisans from Britain in the 1830s, when investors began funneling their capital towards opening new puddling and wrought iron operations based on the hot-air blast furnace designs devised in England.[2] Further, as trade grew with

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[1] Avery Odelle Craven, *Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606–1860* (first published 1925; Columbia, 2006).

[2] This delayed response to new technology mirrors a larger trend in the American iron industry, as raw materials were readily available (trees) and labor was in short supply, encouraging adherence to older

southern cities, cotton and woolen textile mills became profitable investments in and around the port city. Urban and industrial development was centered on Baltimore, but Frederick and western Maryland also experienced rapid growth and industrial development, especially after the introduction of new transportation routes.

The western portions of the state, including Frederick County settled in the 1740s by German immigrants, were producers of considerable wheat and grain harvests in search of a market by the 1790s. The National Road, running from Cumberland to Baltimore, was one option for transportation, but an arduous one at best. As a result, Baltimore investors were talking about canal projects even before the turn of the century, and they were breaking ground on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad by 1827. These connections to the west opened the interior trade from a trickle to a flood, further expanding the need for shipping, wholesalers, and merchants in the city. Although the C & O Canal followed on the heels of the recently opened Erie Canal, which sparked an interest in canals throughout the country, the B & O Railroad was the first major common carrier railway in the nation to connect the developing old Northwest with eastern markets and ports.[3] Baltimore investors were ready to serve as wholesalers and retail merchants for the distant farmers of central and western Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland; and for the first time consumer goods could be

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charcoal-fueled production methods, whereas the exact opposite problem faced English manufacturers who in turn developed labor intensive techniques using coal and coke instead of charcoal. For a general overview of the trends in the iron industry, with some specific examples in Maryland, see: Peter Temin, *Iron and Steel in Nineteenth-Century America: An Economic Inquiry* (Cambridge, Mass, 1964), 1–121. See also: David J. Jeremy, *Transatlantic Industrial Revolution: The Diffusion of Textile Technologies Between Britain and America, 1790–1830s* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981) ; John Bezís-Selfa, *Forging America: Ironworkers, Adventurers, and the Industrious Revolution* (Ithaca, NY, 2004); and David R. Meyer, *Networked Machinists: High Technology Industries in Antebellum America* (Baltimore, 2006).

[3] Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634–1980* (Baltimore, 1988), 186; John F. Stover, *History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad* (West Lafayette, Ind., 1987); and James D. Dilts, *The Great Road: The Building of the Baltimore and Ohio, the Nation's First Railroad, 1828–1853* (Stanford, Calif., 1993).

moved easily to the interior settlements, increasing both wealth and demand in regions outside the major cities. The town of Frederick was an important center for goods being shipped to market in Baltimore, both from Maryland and from the lower Shenandoah Valley in Virginia. In turn, the town grew sufficiently to support its own artisans, industry, and mills, and it served as a regional hub for imports and exports.

As industry spread and new transportation routes opened, mirroring developments in the northern states, thousands of immigrants funneled through Baltimore during the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s—some stopping in the city or in Baltimore County to start a new life, others proceeding westward to Frederick, Washington, and Alleghany Counties, and all points west. At the same moment the supply of labor was expanding, agricultural reforms helped return exhausted soils to profitability in both the grain and tobacco regions of the state, simultaneously undermining and further strengthening Maryland's slave society, here again reinforcing Maryland's dual identity. Yet while some slaves were sold to the Deep South through the interstate slave trade, and still others were manumitted and became free blacks in counties throughout the state, slavery did not loosen its grip on the state's political and cultural consciousness. By the late 1850s Maryland was home to a highly diversified economy dependent on *both* free and enslaved labor. It likewise was a place evolving both urban and agricultural facets to its identity, and mixing immigrants, free blacks, planters, poor whites, slaves, entrepreneurs, and other groups in daily interactions on cobblestone streets, farm lanes, and dusty plantation wharves.

While some Marylanders noted with apprehension the many changes taking place in their state, particularly by the 1850s, there was no consensus on what those changes

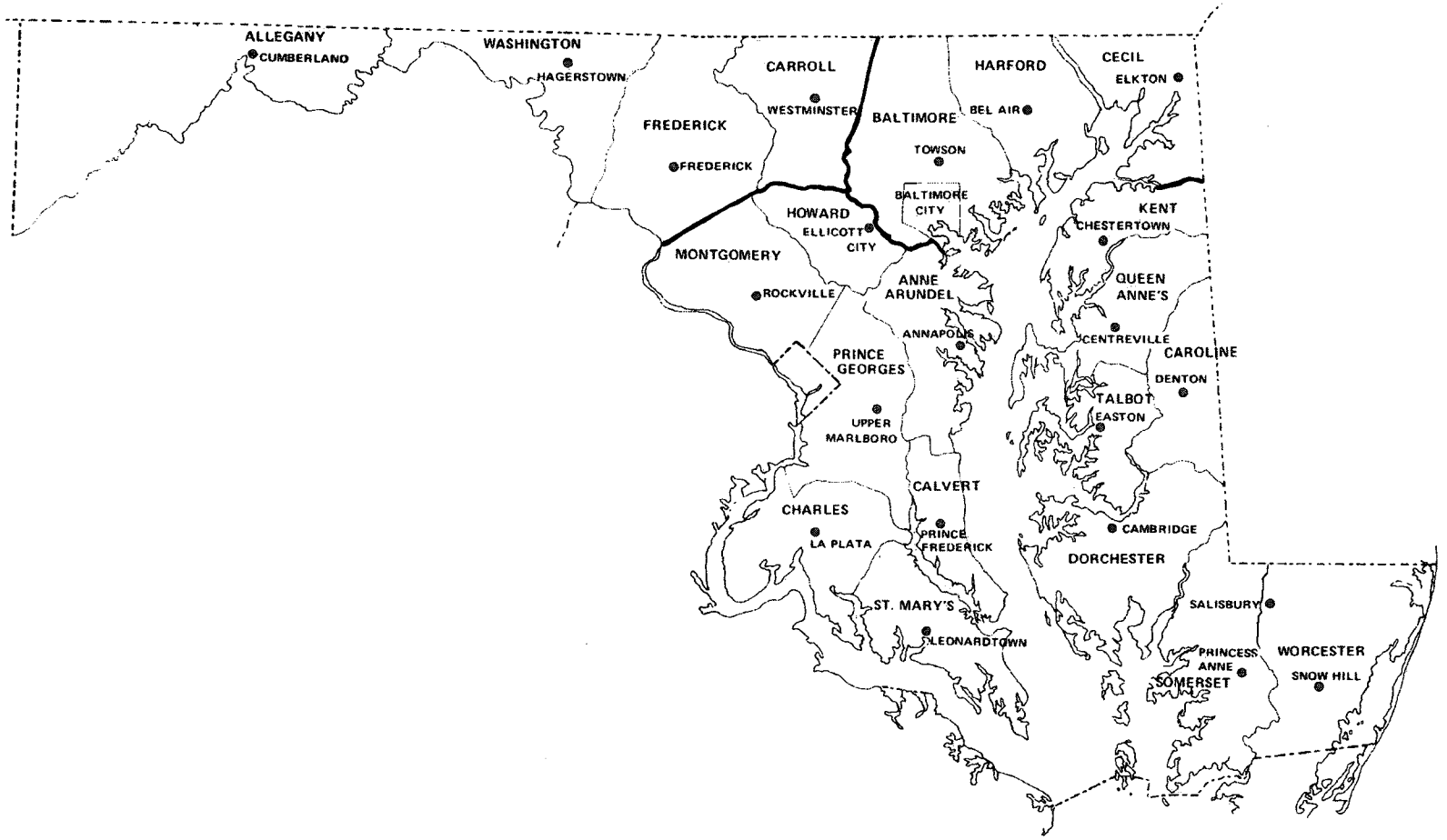
meant for the state's identity or its social, political, and economic needs. Few white Marylanders chose to address the question of slavery themselves, sensing the nation was already bringing the debate to an inevitable confrontation, and likely within their border state. In fact, race relations had proven to be a volatile mix of interests for Marylanders even before the Civil War, with work-related violence between white, immigrant, and free black laborers during the last two decades of the antebellum era, not to mention violence over the fugitive slave laws at places like Christiana in the 1850s. Marylanders had not quite come to terms with how their state was changing, or who exactly they were becoming, but the Civil War thrust the issue of race to the forefront of every political and social debate of the war years—it forced a new northern identity on the state, one that is contested by some white Marylanders even today.

This chapter, primarily a synthesis outlining antebellum dynamics in Maryland, examines the changing facets of Maryland's agricultural, industrial, social, and political identities, taking care to contextualize these converging and diverging trends alongside related developments in New England, the Midwest, and the South in order to fully develop an image of Maryland at the critical crossroads of 1861. Maryland's fate in the national crisis was unclear—was it a northern state, a southern state, or something else? Did Marylanders even fully grasp who they were in 1861? Fate planted them squarely in between two contesting ideologies, and then, to compound the irony of a decades-long identity struggle, forced them to wait months for an answer from Virginia and the Upper South in anticipation of what would clearly be a war fought, in part, to figure out who they were as a society.

To fully understand where Maryland stood in 1861 on the great issues of the day requires a return to the state at the turn of the nineteenth century, and more importantly to the core element of colonial and Early-Republic Maryland society—agriculture. Throughout the state's history, Maryland's agricultural patterns were closely associated with the topography of the region. Initial settlement was limited to the Atlantic Coastal Plains, a flat and sometimes swampy region encompassing all the land between the Chesapeake Bay and the Atlantic Ocean, and a fringe of land along the Western Shore and northern-most portion of the Bay. Countless creeks and inlets dot the region, feeding into half a dozen major rivers that provided both access to the Bay for trade and excellent soils for tobacco. These soils consisted of sand, clay, silt deposits, organic matter, and shell beds (created by ancient oceans and Indian midden) making them nutrient rich but also quickly depleted by erosion, leading to soil depletion that played a role in nineteenth-century developments. Life for the first one hundred years of the colony revolved around tobacco production in this region—along the banks of the Pocomoke, Wicomico, Nanticoke, Choptank, and Chester Rivers on the Eastern Shore, and the Patuxent and lower Potomac Rivers on the Western Shore. Figure 2 identifies the four major regions of Maryland that will be used throughout this study—western Maryland, central Maryland, southern Maryland, and the Eastern Shore—and the associated counties in each region.

Tobacco's influence on all aspects of society in the Chesapeake region can hardly be underestimated. Much as cotton established patterns in the Deep South that resonate even today, tobacco determined the geographic, economic, political, racial, and gender boundaries of Maryland throughout the late seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth

Figure 2: Maryland in 1860



Western Maryland
Carroll County
Frederick County
Washington County
Allegany County

Central Maryland
Baltimore County
Harford County
Cecil County

Southern Maryland
Montgomery County
Anne Arundel County
Prince George's County
Calvert County
Charles County
St. Mary's County

Eastern Shore
Kent County
Queen Anne's County
Caroline County
Talbot County
Dorchester County
Somerset County
Worcester County

Map modified for 1860; originally from: Laslo V. Boyd, *Maryland Government and Politics* (Centreville, Md., 1987), 117.

centuries. By the 1680s, tobacco was a well-established commodity within the state's then ten counties, its cultivation having been brought from Virginia soon after settlers arrived in 1634. As Allan Kulikoff has argued, between the 1680s and the 1750s the labor and marketing demands of tobacco created a patriarchal and gentry-led society that solidified class, gender, and racial boundaries in Chesapeake society, creating the prototypical plantation system that was later replicated after 1800 throughout the South.[4] Maryland plantations along the Eastern Shore and in southern Maryland largely followed this pattern even into the nineteenth century, and concerns over the market prices of tobacco reverberated in the state house halls down to 1860.

Although Oronoco tobacco was grown in Maryland, a tobacco with a reputation for strong flavor, the siliceous soil in some parts of the state naturally produced a leaf that was lighter in color and milder in flavor. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries "Maryland" tobacco, occasionally referred to as "Kite-foot" tobacco in some sources because of its color, had a reputation for quality not unlike the sweet-scented tobacco of the York River Valley in Virginia and could demand a higher price in European markets.[5]

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[4] Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake 1680–1800* (Chapel Hill, 1986).

[5] Although many modern studies reference two varieties of tobacco in the Chesapeake region—Oronoco and sweet-scented—evidence suggests that differences in the final quality of leaf were not genetic but in fact primarily the result of soil, curing technique, and to a lesser extent weather and climate (rainfall and humidity specifically). John Rolfe and his associates imported Oronoco tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*) from either the West Indies or Spanish settlements in South America around 1612, and tobacco grown in the Chesapeake region thereafter was this specific species. Variations in production quality, such as the well-known "E. Dees" leaves that garnered such respect in English and French markets, were the result of a grayish sandy loam soil native to the land between the York and James Rivers in Virginia. Soils similar in composition were found in parts of southern Maryland, a region that produced tobacco in significant quantity and for longer than the counties of the state's Eastern Shore. The darker leaf of Eastern Shore tobacco was less valuable in the market and helped lead to agricultural diversification (wheat production) earlier in those counties. By the 1820s and 1830s, planters in Maryland and Virginia were experimenting with flue-cured tobacco instead of air-cured or fire-curing techniques, allowing the planter further control over the color of the tobacco leaf and its flavor. This curing expertise traveled with settlers as tobacco growers moved into Kentucky, Tennessee, and even Ohio; in fact, in the 1820s some tobacco growers in Ohio produced a yellow tobacco that due to the flue-curing process looked (but did not taste) like Maryland tobacco, something that concerned Maryland producers when European markets confused the two products,

This led Maryland planters to jealously guard their tobacco reputations while being ever-mindful of the prices they received on the fluctuating market—in the eighteenth century out of a sense of pride in their superior product and concerns for their economic independence as T. H. Breen has observed, and in the nineteenth century with a growing urgency toward guarding their reputations against American competitors in Kentucky and Ohio while ensuring a fair price in the monopoly- and tariff-driven international markets.[6] In the international market, there were two models of economic behavior that affected Marylanders and their tobacco during the colonial, Early Republic, and antebellum periods. England used tariffs to control the tobacco trade, while in France the Farmers-General, a collection of businessmen who taxed tobacco entering the country and then paid a portion of the proceeds to the crown, utilized a monopoly to influence prices in their favor. The rest of Europe followed one of these two models, including Germany and Holland, both of whom purchased significant amounts of American tobacco in the antebellum era. European tastes for particular leaves and flavors was one

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threatening to lower the price for Maryland tobacco. Scientific-minded and observant planters recognized that tobacco grew best in otherwise poor-quality grayish sandy soils, and this knowledge along with improvements in the flue-curing method developed during the late 1850s and afterward—factors that combine to starve the plant during growth and during the oxidation phases in curing, thereby limiting the production of chemical compounds that negatively affect the flavor—led directly to the Bright-Tobacco industry of Southwestern Virginia and North Carolina of the late nineteenth century (the beginnings of the modern cigarette industry). See: Nannie May Tilley, *The Bright-Tobacco Industry 1860–1929* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1948), specifically "Quest for Yellow Tobacco, 1606–1865," pp. 3–36; Joseph C. Robert, *The Story of Tobacco in America* (1949; Chapel Hill, NC, 1967), pp. 55, 183–86; Joseph C. Robert, *The Tobacco Kingdom: Plantation, Market, and Factory in Virginia and North Carolina, 1800–1860* (1938; Gloucester, Mass., 1965), pp. 42–50; Julia A. King, "Tobacco, Innovation, and Economic Persistence in Nineteenth-Century Southern Maryland," *Agricultural History* 71 (Spring 1997): 207–36; Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, vol. I, (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1958), 21–22; and Barbara Hahn, "Making Tobacco Bright: Institutions, Information, and Industrialization in the Creation of an Agricultural Commodity, 1617–1937," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2006).

[6] T. H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Even of the Revolution* (Princeton, NJ, 1985).

kind of influence, but falling prices due to unfair trade advantages was another thing entirely for American, and particularly Maryland, planters.[7]

Following the Napoleonic Wars in Europe, France regained its interest in American tobacco and purchased roughly 15 percent of all exports up through the 1850s.[8] The Farmers-General monopoly, however, drew the ire of Maryland planters. Upset by falling prices broadly, and the declines of 1836–1837 and 1839–1840 specifically, Maryland planters reacted by organizing three separate national conventions of tobacco growers between 1837 and 1840 to demand Congress pass reprisal tariffs on British and French goods in defense of American tobacco interests. The movement's leadership was dominated by Marylanders, including Congressman Daniel Jenifer, who addressed the issue in Congress and approached President Martin Van Buren to push for swift diplomatic solutions to the problem. Limited support from Congressional leaders in Virginia and a handful of other men in the western tobacco region of Kentucky and Tennessee manifested itself from those who attended the meetings, although most planters outside Maryland wanted to pursue negotiations further before considering any retaliatory legislation. Eventually price improvements and sweet-talking foreign agents convinced most planters outside Maryland to withdraw their protests. Although the movement declined as a national issue, locally Marylanders still debated the reduction of foreign duties on tobacco as late as 1860 in the Baltimore *American Farmer*.[9] Honor was

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[7] Gray, *History of Agriculture*, vol. II, 760–69; Robert, *Tobacco Kingdom*, 122–23; Robert, *Story of Tobacco*, 48–50; Jacob M. Price, *France and the Chesapeake: A History of the French Tobacco Monopoly, 1674–1791, and of Its Relationship to the British and American Tobacco Trades*, 2 vols., (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1973), esp. Part II and III.

[8] Bingham Duncan, "Franco-American Tobacco Diplomacy, 1784–1860," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 51 (Dec. 1956): 273–301, esp. 273–74.

[9] Duncan, "Franco-American Tobacco Diplomacy," 287–96; Robert, *Tobacco Kingdom*, 126–31, 142–49; Robert, *Story of Tobacco* 55, 72–73. Daniel Jenifer (of Charles County) was an Anti-Jackson and later Whig planter-politician in U.S. Congress from 1831–33, and 1835–41 before serving as Minister to Austria

certainly bound up in this debate's longevity; planters' identities were tied to the "superior" leaf quality associated with the state well into the nineteenth century—longer than T.H. Breen has observed—and Marylanders resented being lumped into a class of 'American tobacco growers' that included the upstarts in Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee by the unsophisticated international buyers who they believed were simultaneously cheating them out of a fair price.[10]

But Maryland agriculture was changing: even though tobacco remained important economically and the dominant crop culturally into the 1880s, a shift towards diversified agriculture was occurring in several counties as early as the 1740s. Lois Green Carr has shown that price stagnation in the late seventeenth century tobacco markets encouraged colonial Marylanders on the Eastern Shore and in southern Maryland to shift precious labor resources towards domestic manufacturing (i.e. weaving and artisan work) in order to supplement expensive imported goods and also to begin growing wheat and corn in significant amounts by the time of the Revolution. As sex-ratios evened and booming birth rates increased family size, it allowed for the clearing of additional lands and the planting of food stuffs—likewise the transition from indentured servants to a slave labor system in the last decades of the seventeenth century further increased available hands for plowing and planting. Wheat and corn became important supplements to the agriculture and economies of even these tobacco-dominated regions by 1776.[11]

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from 1841–45. Jenifer's family ties to tobacco and politics run deep: his uncle—Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, a tobacco planter from Charles County whose signature appears on the U.S. Constitution—was intimately involved with both state and federal politics in the Revolutionary era. "Jenifer, Daniel," *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774–1961* (Washington, D.C., 1961), 1119.

[10] T. H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture*, passim.

[11] Lois Green Carr, "Diversification in the Colonial Chesapeake: Somerset County, Maryland, in Comparative Perspective," 342–88, in *Colonial Chesapeake Society*, Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, eds., (Chapel Hill, NC, 1988). See also Jean B. Lee, *The Price of Nationhood: The American Revolution in Charles County* (New York, 1994), especially pp. 29–32; and Paul G. E. Clemens,

Simultaneous with these changes on the Eastern Shore, western Maryland was settled during the period 1740 to 1760: German immigrants carved numerous wheat farms out of the landscape, continuing the state's shift away from a tobacco-only economy. Although Charles Calvert, Fifth Lord Baltimore and Proprietor of Maryland, opened the western lands for settlement by proclamation in 1732, few settlers were willing to risk it before the 1750s. Boundary disputes with Pennsylvania, fear of attacks by native Americans, transportation limitations for commerce, and the mistaken assumption that grasslands in central Maryland—known as the barrens, located just to the west of Baltimore and extending west towards the Monocacy River—were ill-suited soils for agriculture led few but land speculators to travel west. The cure, however, came in the form of one of those speculators, Daniel Dulany, who encouraged German settlers in Europe and those already in Pennsylvania to buy his farm units and settle the piedmont region. To facilitate trade and supply for his settlers, Dulany founded the town of Frederick in 1745. Just as Dulany and Maryland officials had hoped, the industrious Germans quickly established and cultivated small farms, creating order out of unsettled hills and forests within a decade. By the time of the Revolution, Maryland's piedmont region had expanded so rapidly that Frederick County, created in 1748 as the first western county, had to be split again in 1776 to accommodate the population growth, thereby creating Montgomery and Washington Counties.[12] Moreover, the limestone

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The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore: From Tobacco to Grain (Ithaca, NY, 1980), especially pp. 170–223. For a discussion of the decline of tobacco production following the Civil War, attributed largely to the end of slavery by period observers but in fact due to explosion of the flue-cured tobacco industry in North Carolina and Kentucky, see: Members of Johns Hopkins University, *Maryland, Its Resources, Industries and Institutions, prepared for the Board of World's Fair Managers of Maryland by members of Johns Hopkins University and others* (Baltimore, 1893), 170–71.

[12] Frank W. Porter III, "From Backcountry to County: The Delayed Settlement of Western Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 70 (Winter 1975): 329–49. For the interesting tale of the "Maryland

bedrock provided excellent drainage beneath the nutrient-rich valley soils, producing tremendous yields per acre of wheat and other grains. In fact, the amazing bounty of this region—noted by practically every observer marching through these same hills almost a century later during the Civil War—led directly to Maryland's ability to supply a demanding international market with flour in the years following the Revolution and extending into the 1830s, a critical antecedent to industrialization within the state.[13] Moreover, the German immigrants who settled the western portion of the state by and large did not support slavery and the plantation system, choosing instead to develop family farms. These dynamics contrasted sharply with the colonial beginnings of slavery and tobacco in southern Maryland and on the Eastern Shore, exacerbating Maryland's unclear identity by 1861.

In 1860 Maryland still contained powerful agricultural interests in tobacco and other crops that tugged the state's identity southward as much as the powerful commercial and industrial interests tended to pull it northward in outlook. By the Civil War, the trend towards agricultural diversification was complete in the western and central counties, and for most of the Eastern Shore; southern Maryland had begun to change, particularly in Anne Arundel, Prince George's, and Montgomery Counties, but tobacco still held a firm grasp on that region. Table 1.1 highlights the ever-increasing levels of wheat production within the state, as well as shows the hold-out counties of Southern Maryland that produced the bulk of the state's tobacco during the antebellum years. Another trend beginning to appear in the census data by 1860 was "market

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Barrens," see: William B. Marye, "The Great Maryland Barrens," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 50 (March, June, and September 1955): 11–23; 120–42; 234–53.

[13] For a detailed analysis of the yields per acre for wheat and other grains grown in the western portion of the state as compared to the Eastern Shore and southern Maryland soils, see: Members of Johns Hopkins University, *Maryland, Its Resources, Industries, and Institutions*, 157–68.

gardening," or a transition to growing produce for the burgeoning urban centers in the state (see Table 1.3). The 1860 agricultural census shows Anne Arundel and Baltimore Counties each producing over $200,000 in market garden produce for the city of Baltimore, and Prince George's and Montgomery Counties producing over $30,000 and $13,000 respectively (for Baltimore and Washington, D.C.). These counties account for the bulk of the state's $530,000 total production. By the 1880s the market garden concept had grown into a highly profitable "truck farming" enterprise, where many of the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland counties produced vegetables and fruits that were best suited to their sandy soils, particularly strawberries, and then shipped the produce via commercial transportation companies to regional canning centers or to urban centers for consumption.[14]

There were over 3 million acres of improved farmland recorded in the 1860 census, or almost half the total land mass of the state.[15] By far the most significant product by volume was tobacco; Maryland's plantations and farmers produced almost 38.5 million pounds of the plant, ranking fourth in the nation behind Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. As Table 1.2 demonstrates, Indian corn, wheat, oats, and Irish potatoes

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[14] Bureau of the Census, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the original returns of the Eighth Census* (1864; New York, 1990), 72, hereinafter cited as *Agriculture of the U.S. in 1860;* Members of Johns Hopkins University, *Maryland: Its Resources, Industries and Institutions*, 173–188.

[15] Maryland contains 9,775 square miles of land mass today. This figure is used as a rough estimate to determine the relative percentage of improved farmland to total land mass in 1860 (48 percent). There were 3,002,267 acres (4,691 square miles) of improved farm land and 1,833,304 acres of unimproved land. Between 1850 and 1860 the total improved land rose by over 200,000 acres yet the unimproved figure dropped by only 3,000 acres, suggesting that the majority of these acres were reclaimed fallow lands instead of mostly cleared forests given the agricultural reform movements popular at the time (encouraging the use of fertilizers and plowing deeper furrows to recover "exhausted" soils). Bureau of the Census, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860*, 184 and 188.

Table 1.1

Wheat Production vs. Tobacco Production by County, 1840 to 1860

	1840		1850		1860	
County	***Wheat***	***Tobacco***	***Wheat***	***Tobacco***	***Wheat***	***Tobacco***
	(Bushels)	***(Pounds)***	***(Bushels)***	***(Pounds)***	***(Bushels)***	***(Pounds)***
Western						
Carroll	180,848	238,560	265,007	165,332	323,996	608,424
Frederick	734,767	337,991	731,684	175,394	976,143	387,100
Washington	668,787	n/a	809,093	n/a	882,814	50
Allegany	86,648	31,500	73,525	n/a	87,715	2,000
Southern						
Montgomery	142,757	1,088,412	164,108	426,995	341,087	843,300
Howard	(created 1851)				151,956	400,266
Anne Arundel	206,143	4,021,666	360,923	4,523,340	221,389	6,039,910
Prince George's	80,147	9,259,423	231,687	8,380,851	312,796	13,446,550
Calvert	36,982	3,689,695	67,489	3,109,258	117,119	6,204,524
Charles	91,231	3,265,371	149,533	2,862,300	151,532	4,693,961
St. Mary's	68,372	2,872,052	156,369	1,763,882	296,703	5,774,975
Central						
Baltimore	153,181	9,417	234,187	20	286,351	8,545
Harford	149,300	n/a	186,421	n/a	224,808	n/a
Cecil	107,238	n/a	168,112	n/a	326,667	n/a
Eastern Shore						
Kent	133,470	n/a	194,860	n/a	312,101	n/a
Queen Anne's	113,411	n/a	173,003	n/a	291,656	n/a
Caroline	24,844	n/a	42,879	n/a	57,344	n/a
Talbot	222,822	225	272,963	n/a	343,514	1,100
Dorchester	87,378	1,700	137,470	125	218,422	n/a
Somerset	36,778	n/a	58,248	n/a	138,404	260
Worcester	20,679	n/a	17,119	n/a	40,963	n/a
Maryland State Totals	3,345,783	24,816,012	4,494,680	21,407,497	6,103,480	38,410,965

Unfortunately agricultural data was only compiled beginning with the sixth census in 1840. Bureau of the Census, *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States, as obtained at the Department of State, from the Returns of the Sixth Census* (Washington, D.C., 1841), 143–44. Bureau of the Census, *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, D.C., 1853), 227; Bureau of the Census, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the original returns of the Eighth Census* (1864; New York, 1990), 73. All three of these volumes are also available at: http://www.agcensus.usda.gov/Publications/Historical_Publications/index.asp.

Table 1.2

Maryland Agricultural Products in 1860

Crop	Quantity
Tobacco	38.5 million pounds
Indian Corn	13.4 million bushels
Wheat	6.1 million bushels
Oats	4 million bushels
Irish Potatoes	1.2 million bushels
Additional crops included: rye, peas, beans, sweet potatoes, barley, buckwheat, hops, hay, hemp, and flax.	

Bureau of the Census, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860*, 184–87.

were also produced in considerable numbers. Clover production (presumably used as fodder) ranked seventh in the nation, while the large quantities of honey, orchard products, and market garden produce were likely sold in Baltimore (the latter two items were frequently canned by Baltimore companies by the 1860s). Other products like maple sugar and maple molasses, beeswax, wool, wine, cheese, and butter were also recorded, hinting also at the millions of livestock and animals vital for draft power and secondary products (wool, milk, and meat). Given Maryland's size compared to other states, and its mountainous western counties that further reduce arable land, these high levels of production demonstrate the intensive farming techniques and often astounding fertility of this compact region.[16]

This agricultural bounty fueled the mills and provided the capital for industrialization in the state. Water, among other natural resources, also contributed substantially to Maryland's industrial and commercial development: in addition to the natural harbors and interconnected waterways of the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries, Baltimore was ideally situated at the edge of the piedmont region along the fall line of the Patapsco River with an ample water flow over the Jones' and Gwynn's Falls to fuel what would become a flour-marketing empire. Between 1815 and 1826 flour inspections on barrels leaving the port of Baltimore exceeded those of all other American markets; after 1826 Baltimore was second only to New York in flour exports and the city maintained a substantial trade until the 1880s.[17] By the 1780s flour mills were well established in and around Baltimore, and Baltimore's dominance within Maryland as a milling center

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[16] *Agriculture of the U.S. in 1860*, 184–87. The Canning industry will be discussed later in this chapter.
[17] See: G. Terry Sharrer, "The Merchant-Millers: Baltimore's Flour Milling Industry, 1783–1860," *Agricultural History* 56 (Jan. 1982): 138–50. The Erie Canal opened in 1825, connecting New York with Albany (and the farms of Western New York), allowing the port of New York to take the lead in the American flour export trade.

continued until after the Civil War, although Frederick and Hagerstown became important secondary milling centers for western wheat by the middle of the antebellum years, as Table 1.3 illustrates. In fact, catching commercial leaders in Philadelphia and New York off-guard, Baltimore established a competitive level of trade by the 1790s thanks in large part to flour, and mainly through international rather than domestic trade. Merchant-millers, who could specialize in international trade, took over the trade in wholesale flour from general and commission merchants during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Men like John, Jonathan, George, and Nathaniel Ellicott, brothers whose company was based in Ellicott's Mills just outside Baltimore, were able to dominate trade because they owned or controlled all aspects of production and shipping: wagon and shipping lines, multiple mills, wharves along the harbor, and the commercial and credit connections to deal with buyers in distant, foreign markets. Baltimore continued to both produce and market flour internationally throughout the antebellum years via the networks of these merchant-millers and their connections in Europe, the West Indies, and South America.[18] Likewise, as their capital grew, these same men invested in numerous other industrial, banking, and transportation ventures within the state.

Merchant-millers became the leading proponents of the C & O Canal, the B & O Railroad, and the leading investors in Maryland's initial industrialization efforts—particularly as they sought to mechanize their own flour mills. Baltimore men like

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[18] See: Gary Lawson Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789–1861* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1980), especially chapter eight, and Sharrer, "The Merchant-Millers," especially 144–46. For comparisons to Philadelphia, see: James Weston Livingood, *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry 1780–1860* (Harrisburg, Penn., 1947); Peter C. Mancall, *Valley of Opportunity: Economic Culture along the Upper Susquehanna, 1700–1800* (Ithaca, NY, 1991); and Thomas M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1986).

Table 1.3

Distribution of Flour Mills and Production Levels by County, 1810 and 1840

County (Established)	*1810*		*1840*	
	Flour Mills	*Barrels*	*Flour Mills*	*Barrels*
Western				
Carroll (1837)			31	23,300
Frederick (1748)	101	84,080	46	118,598
Washington (1776)	52	86,250	52	121,824
Allegany (1789)	10	7,550	11	2,990
Southern				
Montgomery (1776)	42	10,200	1	3,000
Anne Arundel (1650)	7	19,900	5	27,260
Prince George's	12	5,100	1	5,100
Calvert (1654)				
Charles (1658)				
St. Mary's (1637)			4	100
Central				
Baltimore Co. (1659)	65	39,000	23	150,596
Harford (1773)	58	59,304	7	11,900
Cecil (1672)	36	17,100	1	500
Eastern Shore				
Kent (1642)	16	n/a	7	1,250
Queen Anne's (1706)				
Caroline (1773)				
Talbot (1662)				
Dorchester (1668)			n/a	290
Somerset (1666)				
Worcester (1742)				
Maryland State Totals	399	328,484	189	466,708

A Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the United States of America, for the year 1810 (first published 1814; New York, 1990), p.87; *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States, as obtained at the Department of State, from the Returns of the Sixth Census*, pp. 152–53. Data not reported for particular counties was left blank; if a county had a partial report, the unknown or unreported data was noted with "n/a" or not available. Baltimore City statistics were included in Baltimore County.

Robert Oliver, one of the nation's first millionaires, and the Ellicott brothers fueled growth by tapping into their merchant and mechanical networks to find partners and entrepreneurs with skills and ideas but who otherwise lacked venture capital. From these connections they brought people and machines to Baltimore, all made possible by their wartime profits. The demand for foodstuffs in Europe was almost insatiable following a series of crop failures, the French Revolution, and the Napoleonic Wars, all of which ravaged much of the continent following the American Revolution. This turmoil gave American flour a highly profitable market between 1783 and 1820—even during Thomas Jefferson's short-lived Embargo Act of 1807 and a Royal Navy blockade of the Chesapeake in 1814 as Maryland's fast clipper fleets allowed smugglers to continue business-as-usual with few interruptions.[19] But Europe was only a secondary market for Baltimore, especially after 1826 when New York City took the export lead thanks to the Erie Canal. Robert Oliver and other Baltimore entrepreneurs established numerous networks in the South, the Caribbean, and in South America, and a large portion of the city's trade in flour went southward, bringing in return coffee, Peruvian guano (vital to the development of the fertilizer industry for southern plantations, which got its start in Baltimore), and other goods.[20]

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[19] British Parliament enacted the Corn Laws in 1815, which limited the importation of American grains (they were not repealed until 1847). Further, British abolition of slavery in its colonies in 1833 meant that the Caribbean could begin to grow its own foodstuffs, to some degree lessening the demand for American wheat. Likewise, France and the rest of Europe had an opportunity to begin to plant and harvest regularly after 1815 when Napoleon Bonaparte was defeated at Waterloo and placed in exile by the British—this time for good until his death in 1821. All of these factors had decreased the American flour trade with Europe by 1818 to 1820. And in Baltimore, although flour inspections were cut in half from 1807 to 1808 by the embargo, some 255,232 barrels were still inspected in 1808 (a lot of work for them to be left sitting dockside). One Marylander boasted that at least 100,000 barrels had been sent illegally to the West Indies that year, and most merchants sent shipments regardless knowing the profits easily compensated for the rare occasion when one of the smugglers was actually caught. For an excellent summary of this, see: Sharrer, "The Merchant-Millers," 138–150; smuggling statistics are from p. 141.

[20] Stuart W. Bruchey, "Robert Oliver and Mercantile Bookkeeping in the Early Nineteenth Century" (M.A. thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 1946; reprinted, New York, 1976).

Commerce with the West Indies was a long-established practice by the mid-nineteenth century, as Maryland merchants traded with most of the Caribbean islands because the state produced flour that was world-renowned for its storage abilities, resisting spoilage even on long voyages and in tropical climes. When the European trade decreased after 1815, Baltimore merchants were able to sustain high profits in their ever-growing trade with the Caribbean islands and South America because of this reputation. Later the West Indian market contracted after the British abolished slavery in 1833, but trade between Baltimore, Brazil, and Peru continued to grow until the Civil War severed most communications and shipping in 1861 and 1862 (and Argentine flour became readily available in South America after 1870).[21]

These international networks also spurred the development of banking and insurance houses in Baltimore, again mirroring developments in northern cities like Boston and New York. These Baltimore companies provided a stable reputation and the accounting practices, advance credit, and insurance necessary for international trade, particularly in perishable goods that often spent months in transit and customs inspections. Alexander Brown, an Irish immigrant who arrived in Baltimore in 1800, is one example. Brown began his enterprises as a linen merchant in the city, then as his business developed he served as a commission agent for others' goods, speculating in various markets with his own finances and eventually serving as a creditor and banker for his business associates. His sons joined the firm—initially Alexander Brown & Sons but later called Brown Brothers & Co.—and by Alexander Brown's death in 1834 the family

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[21] Sharrer, "The Merchant-Millers," 138–42; Pearle Blood, "Factors in the Economic Development of Baltimore, Maryland," *Economic Geography* 13 (April 1937): 187–208; Gregory G. Brown, "The Impact of American Flour Imports on Brazilian Wheat Production: 1808–1822," *The Americas* 47 (Jan. 1991): 315–36; Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation*; and David Bushnell and Neill Macaulay, *The Emergence of Latin America in the Nineteenth Century*, 2nd ed., (New York, 1994), especially 232–3.

business had established branches of the parent firm, run by the sons and close business associates, in Philadelphia, New York, and Liverpool. Their letters of credit opened doors for other Maryland and American merchants in European, South American, and Asian markets, serving as a vital link in the growing exchange of goods. In fact, Brown & Co. was significant on a national scale: as one scholar has argued, "[b]y 1860 the Browns were the most important financiers of international trade in the American economy."[22] Like the Browns, Robert Oliver was also insuring international cargoes for Marylanders by the first decade of the nineteenth century.[23]

But these houses were crucial to the Maryland community as well: they provided capital for local business ventures, internal improvements, and industrial expansion precisely at the moment when a number of the states' citizens were looking to invest in new ventures. The Bank of Maryland, located in Baltimore, was chartered in 1790 with primarily Baltimore subscribers, and a joint-stock fire insurance company was established in 1787 (the first of its kind in the United States). By 1807 ten more mutual associations had been established, with five specializing in marine insurance. Other companies chartered by the state legislature constructed bridges over the creeks and rivers surrounding Baltimore.[24] These patterns continued into nineteenth century: when the embargo temporarily slowed the export business, merchant-millers turned to manufacturing for domestic markets, inspiring others to invest likewise. The Union Manufacturing Company, established in 1808, had a total capital investment of one

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[22] Edwin J. Perkins, "Financing Antebellum Importers: The Role of Brown Bros. & Co. in Baltimore," *Business History Review* 45 (Winter 1971): 421–451, quote from p.422; Robert E. Shalhope, *The Baltimore Bank Riot: Political Upheavel in Antebellum Maryland* (Urbana, 2009); and Howard Bodenhorn, *A History of Banking in Antebellum America: Financial Markets and Economic Development in an Era of Nation-Building* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000).

[23] Stuart W. Bruchey, "Robert Oliver and Mercantile Bookkepping in the Early Nineteenth Century," p. 55 and passim.

[24] Brugger, *Maryland, A Middle Temperament*, 142.

million dollars representing smaller investments from over three hundred Marylanders. Other textile manufacturing firms sprang up taking advantage of steam-powered equipment to build major mill complexes all around Baltimore County, including the Powhatan Mills begun in 1811. Craftmens' guilds formed the Mechanic's Bank in 1806 and the Franklin Bank in 1810 to assist their member in competing with the growing elite-owned milling centers.[25]

The same merchants and entrepreneurs were responsible for the creation of additional transportation options in the 1820s and 1830s. Philip E. Thomas, who began as a hardware merchant, served as president of the Merchant's Bank, was appointed a commissioner representing Maryland for the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal in 1825, and later served as the first president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from 1827 until 1836. Along with Thomas, George Brown, himself a banker and Alexander Brown's son, also served on the first board of directors for the railroad, as well as Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Maryland's Revolutionary era figurehead, William Patterson, Robert Oliver, Alexander Brown, Isaac McKim, William Lorman, Thomas Ellicott, and four other men–all well-connected, prominent Baltimore merchants and bankers.[26]

In addition to a financially fertile grounding for enterprise, the natural resources beneath the soil represented great wealth and an important boost for Maryland's industrial development, forging additional connections and webs of knowledge among entrepreneurs and industrialists, particularly those in the North and in Europe. While not as vast as the well-known fields found in Pennsylvania, the coal deposits of western Maryland were nonetheless valuable resources during the nineteenth century, spurring

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[25] Brugger, *Maryland, A Middle Temperament*, 177–78.
[26] Stover, *History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad*, 12–21.

industrial growth and transportation developments statewide. Maryland's coal basins, found in the present-day Garrett and Alleghany Counties, are semi-bituminous—a variety of soft coal containing a high percentage of fixed carbon and volatile matter (trapped carbon, oxygen, or hydrogen molecules), which makes this "smokeless" coal superior for use in steamships, industrial heating, and blacksmithing. Part of the driving motivation for extension of the B&O Railroad and C&O Canal to Cumberland and beyond was for access not only to the farmers and markets of the interior but also to connect these valuable coal fields with the port city, thereby lowering transportation costs and making extraction of these resources viable.[27]

Broadly speaking, three factors increased domestic demand for coal—both bituminous and the better-known Pennsylvania anthracite coal—in the first decades of the nineteenth century. As eastern cities experienced rapid urban growth and immigration, additional sources of heat were necessary for homes and businesses during the long winter months. Second, the transition to steam-powered river and naval vessels beginning in the 1810s and 1820s created another expanding market for coal. And finally, the shift to steam-powered (as opposed to water-powered) machines for spooling and weaving in the woolen and cotton mills of the Northeast, along with a new British production model of iron-making that utilized coal as fuel instead of charcoal, created a significant industrial demand for coal. For Maryland investors, the latter two markets,

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[27] Garrett County was created in 1872 out of the western-most portion of Allegany County. W. L. Fairbanks and W. S. Hamill, *The Coal-Mining Industry of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1932), 3–10, 35–36, 41 and 77; Members of Johns Hopkins University, *Maryland: Its Resources, Industries and Institutions*, 91–93; Howard M. Jenkins, ed., *Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal: A History, 1608–1903*, Vol. III (Philadelphia, 1903), 419. See also: Ronald L. Lewis, *Coal, Iron and Slaves: Industrial Slavery in Maryland and Virginia, 1715–1865* (Westport, Conn., 1979).

along with new transportation routes, made it profitable to commence large-scale mining operations in this remote region of the state.

Coal was first discovered in the George's Creek Basin in 1804. This area, also referred to as the Cumberland Basin for its location just west of that city, was the most heavily mined region within the state throughout the nineteenth century.[28] Prior to the arrival of railroad and canal transportation routes, shipments of coal were carted by wagon to the Potomac River and amassed in anticipation of spring rains and the high-water season.[29] Yet production was limited for several reasons: accessing the coal veins first required labor-intensive clearing of the dense hardwood forests; the remoteness of the region increased the cost of shipping supplies to and from Cumberland and likewise transporting tons of coal to market in Baltimore via wagon made the final selling prices uncompetitive; and shipments by water were only launched during a few weeks in the spring or fall when high water allowed boats to safely navigate the river—too infrequently to clear a year's stockpile of mined coal.

With these factors in mind, it is hardly coincidental that the first major mining company was chartered in 1828, the same year ground was broken for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Planned by Baltimore investors as a way to access the grain farmers of western Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia, the B&O Railroad plotted a westerly route towards the Ohio River Valley passing through Cumberland along the way—convenient, of course, for the coal and iron industries, too.

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[28] Members of Johns Hopkins University, *Maryland: Its Resources, Industries and Institutions*, 92–93; Fairbanks and Hamill, *The Coal-Mining Industry of Maryland*, 35–36. The other basins remained largely inaccessible until private mining companies began constructing their own rail connections to the Pennsylvania Railroad in the 1870s. See, Members of Johns Hopkins University, *Maryland: Its Resources, Industries and Institutions*, 100.

[29] Fairbanks and Hamill, *The Coal-Mining Industry of Maryland*, 36.

Financiers had their eyes and pocketbooks fixed on the coal fields and the potential profits of shipping hundreds of thousands of tons annually across a single rail line. However, ground was also broken for the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal in 1828; the canal meanders alongside the Potomac River on Maryland's southern border connecting Washington, D.C., to Cumberland. Although the B&O Railroad reached Cumberland first in 1842—the C&O Canal did not connect with the city until 1850—both routes opened the proverbial floodgates for coal shipments. Between 1842 and 1860 over 4.3 million tons of coal were extracted and shipped to the markets in Alexandria, Virginia, and Baltimore via these two routes. Mining operations continued to expand after a brief war-related decline in 1861–1862, and during the period 1861 to 1865 over 2.25 million tons were shipped—over half the total of the preceding eighteen years. By 1867 over 1 million tons were dug out annually.[30]

The pioneering companies in the coal industry were the Maryland Mining Company, established the same year construction began on the railroad in 1828, the George's Creek Coal and Iron Company (1836), and the Maryland and New York Coal and Iron Company (1839). Although there were smaller operations in addition to these three, the Maryland Mining Company was by far the largest mining operation in the state. Renamed the Cumberland Coal and Iron Company in 1842, by 1852 it owned 6,000 acres

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[30] Fairbanks and Hamill, *The Coal-Mining Industry of Maryland*, 36–37; Members of Johns Hopkins University, *Maryland: Its Resources, Industries and Institutions*, 93–94. Total tons shipped from the Cumberland Basin were compiled from a chart found in: Members of Johns Hopkins University, *Maryland: Its Resources, Industries and Institutions*, 98–99. Although Maryland's coal production increased dramatically after 1842 for reasons stated above, the only census statistics for this period are from the sixth census (1840). For bituminous coal production, Maryland ranked eighth among the states and territories with 222,000 bushels. While Pennsylvania and Virginia clearly had larger coal reserves and mine operations with which Maryland could never compete (11.6 million and 10.6 million bushels of bituminous coal respectively, not including another 850,000 bushels of anthracite coal mined in Pennsylvania), Maryland's coal industry none-the-less was significant to the state's economy and the development of other steam-driven industries in Baltimore during the late antebellum period. Additionally, Maryland coal was particularly prized for naval vessels. Bureau of the Census, *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States* (1841; New York, 1990), 358 and 359.

of coal seams in western Maryland and was responsible for the extraction of over 3.1 million tons of coal up to 1869, by far the most of any organization in Maryland.[31] Coal and iron were intimately connected, as many of these names demonstrate, particularly as technological improvements and expanding transportation networks converged in the 1830s.

Maryland maintained a strong presence in both the coal and iron industries during the antebellum era, even though by volume Pennsylvania led the nation in coal mined and iron produced after the Revolution. In fact, in 1840 Maryland still ranked fourth in the nation in the production of bar iron with 7,900 tons, and it ranked ninth and seventh respectively in total tons of cast iron produced and total persons employed in the furnaces, forges, and rolling and slitting mills. And, Maryland ranked eighth in coal production for 1840.[32] While those figures are in the middle of the pack when considering national rankings for production, they mask an important role the state played in the development of new iron production techniques and in providing semi-bituminous coal during the transition period—bituminous to anthracite—in America's coal industry. For certain industries, Maryland's specific type of coal was in highest demand.

To put that role in context, one needs to consider the 1830s as a transition decade for industrialization in America generally. As Peter Temin has shown, the American iron industry lagged behind the British iron industry in technological advances until the 1830s, primarily because America was resource-rich and continued to produce iron based

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[31] Fairbanks and Hamill, *The Coal-Mining Industry of Maryland,* 36–37.

[32] Tennessee was the only southern state to produce more bar iron in 1840. Bureau of the Census, *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States* (1841; New York, 1990), pp. 142 and 358–59.

on eighteenth-century charcoal-based furnace operations. Britain developed the hot blast furnace and new labor-intensive puddling techniques by the turn of the nineteenth century largely because they needed to convert to coal as a heating source, being short on trees to make charcoal and because they had an abundance of labor. During the Revolutionary and Early Republic periods, particularly at Catoctin Furnace and Antietam Iron Works in western Maryland, it was far more economical to run a smaller charcoal-based operation with fewer hands given the frontier nature of the region. Even in Baltimore there was little incentive to stop production and rebuilt furnace stacks. As the railroads began crossing the American landscape, however, moving labor to the mountains and ore and coal from them, the equation changed. The 1830s and 1840s became a critical transition period when British iron technology took hold in the United States—there was greater demand for manufactured iron in intricate shapes and quality specifications, like boiler plates for more powerful steam engines and locomotives, machinery casings for milling and textile equipment, and rolled iron rails for the railroads. To manufacture this high quality iron and compete in the international market for their own domestic needs, American manufacturers had to import the British technology. Coal-fueled and hot-blast iron furnaces began appearing in the United States in the 1830s—the movement of hot air over the molten iron allowing for high temperatures and purification of the ore that made the final products stronger.[33]

Many of these technological adaptations were tested in Pennsylvania and Maryland. In 1837 a new furnace was built at Lonaconing in Allegany County for the George's Creek Coal and Iron Company. It utilized coke, a processed form of bituminous coal, making it "at the time the most successful coke furnace in the United

[33] Temin, *Iron and Steel in Nineteenth-Century America*, 1–17.

States." Andrew Ellicott, one of the flour-milling entrepreneurial brothers, constructed the "first successful hot blast stove" in the United States at Locust Point and went on to build other innovative furnaces in the 1840s. Furnaces built by the Mount Savage Iron and Coal Company (originally the Maryland and New York Coal and Iron and Company) in 1843 "rolled the first heavy rail made in the United States" in the fields outside of Cumberland.[34]

While Maryland was not the only place these developments took place, the entrepreneurial spirit and established iron industry made these experiments attractive enterprises to Marylander investors. For a critical period in the middle antebellum decades, Maryland played a major role in powering New England's mills and commercial steamships, given the chemical properties and the "smokeless" burn of the region's semi-bituminous coal. It was the most attractive heating source for industry and was even the preferred fuel source for the United States Navy.[35]

Isaac Tyson Jr. (1792–1861) in particular exemplifies the connections between the numerous facets of Maryland's mining and industrial interests and international technological and scientific movements. Tyson was the son of Baltimore flour and grain merchant Jesse Tyson, and while a young man he was able to study mineralogy and chemistry in France, then the leading center for the manufacture of chromium compounds. Around the same time as his return, black rocks on one of his father's estates in Baltimore County were discovered, which Tyson recognized as chromic iron. With his father's help, Tyson established a mining and shipping business to export

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[34] Members of Johns Hopkins University, *Maryland: Its Resources, Industries and Institutions*, 94, 103–9; quotations from pp. 107 and 108 respectively.
[35] Katherine A. Harvey, *The Best-Dressed Miners: Life and Labor in the Maryland Coal Region, 1835–1910* (Ithaca, NY, 1969), vii.

chrome to England (used in making paints). In 1816 Tyson partnered with Howard Sims and established his own factory on Pratt Street to manufacture paints, chemicals, and medicines. In 1827 by happenstance he discovered a large vein of chromic iron in Harford County; he acquired the property and began to search in similar rock formations from New Jersey to Virginia, leading to additional acquisitions in Baltimore County and Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Tyson exported chrome to Liverpool and London for use in the paint and dye industries, effectively creating a world-wide monopoly in the chrome supply that grew his business up to 1850, following the discovery of chrome in Turkey in 1848.[36]

The chrome trade was just the beginning of Tyson's industrial endeavors in Maryland; it provided the financing for his ventures in mining and smelting iron and copper, mining lead, and manufacturing copperas and other compounds throughout the remaining antebellum decades. In 1827 Tyson patented a new method for making copperas, an iron salt used for dyes and medicines, which led to his involvement—through ownership, partnership, or lease—in most of the copper mining operations within Maryland. In the 1830s and 1840s he established a number of copper mines and copper smelting furnaces in the state. Tyson also partnered with Amos Binney and his son in Boston, owners of the nation's largest mine for iron pyrites (used to make copperas). During the 1830s together the Binneys and Tyson experimented with copper smelting in Vermont, and Tyson became the first American to use anthracite coal and a hot blast furnace to smelt copper. In fact, Tyson's personal connections with specialists in various industries, representing people he could hire for his own ventures and a knowledge base

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[36] Collamer M. Abbott, "Isaac Tyson Jr Pioneer Mining Engineer and Metallurgist," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 60 (March 1965): 15–25, especially 15–18.

to build upon, connected Tyson (and Maryland) to other industrialists in Virginia, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and other states—and internationally with developments and individuals in England, France, and Spain.[37] As Michele Gillespie and other historians have shown, these transatlantic connections and "networks of knowledge" played an important role in the spread of ideas and people in antebellum industrial America—in both the North and the South.[38] These connections highlight the growing importance of industry in the slave states even before the Civil War.

Following quickly on the heels of Samuel Slater's factory at Waltham, Massachusetts, and other developments in New England, Baltimore merchants and businessmen were anxious to establish textile manufacturing mills during the first decade of the nineteenth century. In fact, after iron—Maryland's "first" industry—textile manufacturing was the state's initial foray into what is usually seen as the "mainline" of industrial development in antebellum America. The readily available merchant capital in Baltimore allowed for the development of cotton and woolen manufacturing in Maryland. William Patterson, president of the Bank of Maryland, helped organize a committee of businessmen interested in establishing a textile business, which led to the creation of the Union Manufacturing Company in 1808—John McKim, later member of the board for the B & O Railroad, served as Union's first president. The following year a second textile company, the Washington Cotton Manufacturing Company of Baltimore, was established in the city. And developments were not isolated to Baltimore City and

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[37] Abbot, "Isaac Tyson Jr Pioneer Mining Engineer and Metallurgist," passim. Copper, Lead, and Zinc were also mined in considerable quantities from Frederick and Carroll Counties. See: Nancy C. Pearre, "Mining for Copper and Related Minerals in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 59 (March 1964): 15–33.

[38] See: Michele Gillespie, "Building Networks of Knowledge: Henry Merrell and Textile Manufacturing in the Antebellum South," in *Technology, Innovation, and Southern Industrialization: From the Antebellum Era to the Computer Age*, Susanna Delfino and Michele Gillespie, eds. (Columbia, Mo., 2008), 97–124; and David J. Jeremy, *Transatlantic Industrial Revolution.*

Baltimore County; in the Hagerstown area, a skilled machinest named E. Gibbs built carding machines in 1809 for wool yarn production, establishing a mill that created woven fabric for use locally in western Maryland. Frederick County saw the establishment of its own woolen manufactory by William Greyson and his son in 1817, and Montgomery County had the Brookeville Woolen Manufactory by 1819. In just two years, Maryland had at least eleven mills with over 11,000 spindles scattered among Baltimore, Cecil, Washington, and Harford Counties—in addition to the state's almost 400 flour mills scattered throughout the state and three glassworks.[39]

All along Jones' and Gywnn's Falls textile mills sprouted up between 1810 and 1825, including Baltimore's first steam-powered textile mill, the Hamilton Cotton Factory, established in 1814. Some of these early mills were exporting goods to South America by the mid-1820s, and others began to specialize in making cotton duck fabric for sails, a natural extension of Baltimore's highly prized ship-building industry. Product specialization particularly helped Maryland's mills survive the economic depression of the late 1830s and to be able to circumvent competition from New England's numerous cotton and wool factories. By the 1850s many mills and factories in Maryland were steam powered, eliminating the need for fast-flowing waterways and spreading manufacturing industry throughout central and western Maryland-dotting the landscape in much the same way as New England. The 1850 census reveals Maryland ranked eighth in cotton manufacturing and seventh in its total industrial output among all the

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[39] Two of the glassworks were located in Frederick County. There also were 113 saw mills according to the census. Richard W. Griffin, "An Origin of the Industrial Revolution in Maryland: The Textile Industry, 1789–1826," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 61 (March 1966): 24–36; Lynda Fuller Clendenning, "The Early Textile Industry in Maryland, 1810–1850," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 87 (Fall 1992): 251–265; and *A Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the United States of America, for the Year 1810* (first published 1814; New York, 1990), 79–87.

states, but it ranked fourth in the number of employees per establishment, revealing the intensive nature of textile manufacturing in the state—its chief competitors were centered on New England, further illustrating that Maryland was developing a mixed economy, with textiles mining, industry, and trade, characteristic of developments in the northern states.[40]

Other important industries grew out of these 'first' industries, either directly by utilizing the abandoned steam machinery and factories for a new purpose or by developing niches to support the needs of local companies and communities. A prime, and perhaps surprising, example is the canning industry. Thomas W. Kensett emigrated from England to New York in 1818, where he began canning salmon and shellfish in glass containers, marking the beginning of commercial canning in the United States (tin cans were developed in Britain around the turn of the nineteenth century and would take hold in the U.S. before the California Gold Rush). In 1826 Kensett moved to Baltimore and founded an oyster canning factory. Initially considered a luxury item for fruit and seafood otherwise out of season, canned goods gained popularity in the decades before 1860, particularly as their convenience as provisions for soldiers and sailors popularized the idea. Kensett expanded his operations to include local fruits like pears and peaches in 1832, and other firms soon opened in Baltimore as demand increased, particularly among the countless ships passing through Baltimore annually. By 1850 five separate firms were canning fruits, vegetables, and oysters in the city; in fact, Baltimore firms canned most of the fruits that were consumed by forty-niners and other settlers to California before orchards could be established in the state. By the Civil War, only three regions of

[40] Richard W. Griffin, "An Origin of the Industrial Revolution in Maryland: The Textile Industry, 1789–1826," 24–36; Lynda Fuller Clendenning, "The Early Textile Industry in Maryland, 1810–1850," 251–265, particularly p. 259 for figures.

the country had significant canning industries: Portland, Maine; Oneida County, New York; and Baltimore. In fact, Baltimore led the nation's production of canned goods until California claimed the title in the first decade of the twentieth century. The canning industry continued to grow in Maryland throughout the antebellum and war years, reaching thirteen canneries by 1860 and thirty-four in 1870. Of the three million oysters handled in Baltimore during 1860, one million of them were canned. Captain Thomas Wilson of the Army of the Potomac reported in 1867 on his heavy reliance on Baltimore's canned foods for supplying Union forces during the war.[41]

Developing from Maryland agriculturalists' interest in restoring soil fertility, Baltimore also became a leading center for fertilizer trade and manufacture during the 1850s. John Skinner, a Maryland agriculturalist and editor of the *American Farmer*, brought the first samples of Peruvian Guano to Baltimore in 1832 for his own experimentation. He reported his successes in his paper, and regular imports of guano were arriving in Baltimore by the mid 1840s. Initially guano was used in its natural form, but by the late 1850s several Baltimore firms were processing it further as part of a chemical mix. Captain Edward K. Cooper discovered additional deposits of nitrogen-rich guano-like deposits in the Caribbean and partnered with the firm of R. W. L. Rasin to import the material to Baltimore, further developing the chemical and fertilizer industry in the city. By 1861 Baltimore had become the distribution center for guano in the United States, dealing with farmers from Boston to the Deep South, and imported over half the nation's guano supply (almost 54,000 tons). This industry would continue to grow in the latter half of the nineteenth century, spreading to southern Maryland and the

[41] Edward F. Keuchel, "Master of the Art of Canning: Baltimore, 1860–1900," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 67 (Winter 1972): 351–62.

Eastern Shore in addition to Baltimore, and Maryland remained an important center for the fertilizer industry into the twentieth century.[42] And of course related to Maryland's agriculture, the tobacco factories in Baltimore employed 270 people in 1840 and produced over $230,000 in manufactured goods, ranking fifth in the nation (behind Virginia, New York, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky respectively).[43]

To bring the discussion of Maryland's industries full circle, incorporating the important topic of labor, it is useful to look at the Maryland Chemical Works established in Baltimore in 1825 by David and Richard McKim, sons of John McKim, and their business associate Howard Sims, who was also a partner on other ventures with Isaac Tyson. The Maryland Chemical Works specialized in the manufacture of industrial chemicals, pigments, and medicines, but more significantly, the proprietors experimented with a mixed slave and wage labor force from 1825 to 1835. As historian T. Stephen Whitman has shown, this experiment in mixed labor had mixed results; slaves were more dependable than the rapid turnover of white laborers, who often gained skills and moved on to competing firms for higher wages in a matter of months or years. Skilled slaves, on the other hand, understood their critical role in the manufacturing process and often negotiated better conditions for themselves by withholding work at key times and occasionally even by running away. Market demands fluctuated, which in turn led to the underutilization of slave labor over time and costing the firm profits that were tied up in human chattel. Although the McKims ultimately decided slave labor in the industrial setting was problematic and cut the proportion of slaves in their work force,

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[42] Pete Lesher, "A Load of Guano: Growth of the Fertilizer Trade," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 99 (Winter 2004): 480–90.

[43] *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States, as obtained at the Department of State, from the Returns of the Sixth Census* (first published 1841; New York, 1990), 149; 362.

paradoxically the McKims relied more heavily on the remaining highly skilled slaves to provide the core knowledge and stability needed in specialized chemical production.[44]

In many ways, this is the essence of the dilemma that faced Marylanders in 1860. These important businessmen were tied to the banking, railroad, and civic leaders in their city and state; and here, while contributing to the state's development, they attempted in their own ventures to bridge the divide between slave and wage labor systems. They negotiated small, daily compromises that were necessary to make their state's dual identity work in the long run. It was not an either/or dichotomy for Marylanders, it was simply half slave, half free—a fact that did not seem incongruent. Most white Marylanders chose to commit to creating laws that sustained both systems just as they had throughout the antebellum era: a commitment to tariffs that protected domestic industry but did not diminish prices for tobacco, or pushing for stronger fugitive slave laws at the same time colonization was a state-funded venture. In fact, by the late 1840s the state's free black and immigrant populations were reaching a critical mass, creating a need for laws that protected the interests of native whites.

The nature of slavery in Maryland changed significantly over the course of the antebellum years resulting in new opportunities for mixed labor systems, although the growing number of free blacks or general decline in the total number of slaves did not necessarily translate into diminished political and cultural significance of the institution for white citizens. During the first decades of the nineteenth century, manumission trends temporarily increased on the crest of revolutionary ideologies of liberty and freedom; and for a brief period following the Revolution, free blacks could even vote in

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[44] T. Stephen Whitman, "Industrial Slavery at the Margin: The Maryland Chemical Works," *Journal of Southern History* 59 (Feb. 1992): 31–62.

Maryland (until 1809).[45] New labor resources, especially the concentration of women, children, and free blacks in Baltimore, motivated entrepreneurs to lay aside racial barriers in search of the lowest production costs, creating a class of poor whites, immigrants, and free blacks all competing for the same jobs to, as Seth Rockman has described, figuratively and literally 'scrape' out an existence in Baltimore.[46]

As the Eastern Shore counties shifted from tobacco to wheat production in the Revolutionary era, planters experienced a surplus of slave labor between harvest times. Yet a solution arose simultaneously with this problem, as Stephen Whitman has shown, given the rapid ascension of Baltimore to national prominence. Demands for labor to clear farms and cut wood in Baltimore County, the growing need for dock and mill hands within the city, and the call for day laborers to complete public works projects produced a ready-made market for slave hiring and sales until the 1820s. In fact, the period from 1790 to 1810 saw the highest rate of slave purchases in Baltimore County, with merchants and industrialists in Baltimore representing the largest portion of those purchasing slaves. A smaller but still demanding market for slave labor developed in Frederick and Washington Counties during the same decades as new lands were cleared for farming, and iron and mining operations expanded. Whitman argues that renting and purchasing slaves reallocated labor resources within the state, easing some internal tensions on the question of slavery in the early decades of the nineteenth century.[47]

Furthermore, the concentration of slaves along with free blacks in Baltimore—many of whom were manumitted in Maryland during the late eighteenth and early

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[45] Leonard P. Curry, *The Free Black in Urban America 1800–1850: The Shadow of a Dream* (Chicago, 1981), 220–21.
[46] Seth Rockman, *Scraping By: Wage Labor, Slavery, and Survival in Early Baltimore* (Baltimore, 2009).
[47] T. Stephen Whitman, *The Price of Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in Baltimore and Early National Maryland* (Lexington, 1997), passim; p. 10 for sales statistics.

nineteenth centuries—helped the state's white planter and business elite cope with the growing wage labor system of the late antebellum decades. Mixing labor resources—children, women, free blacks, hired slaves, and term service or owned slaves—allowed Baltimore's merchants, craftsmen, and industrialists to blur the categories of labor to their advantage, maximizing profits through selection of the least expensive and most readily available labor supply at any given time. This mixing of wage and slave labor ensured a broader ideological defense of slavery, even among the non-slaveholding entrepreneurs, infusing new life in the institution despite Maryland's growing industrial and urban centers. As Rockman argues, "employers reconciled slavery with the most advantageous aspects of a 'free-labor' economy, namely the ability to hire and fire workers at will and to jettison traditional responsibilities" without being "so committed to the free-labor ideal that they sought to abolish slavery or convert all labor relations to a wage basis."[48]

Although the traditional Chesapeake model of the slave labor-based tobacco plantation held true for Southern Maryland throughout the antebellum period, the remaining regions of the state experienced first a growth in the demand for slave labor, primarily centered on Baltimore, and then, by the 1820s and 1830s, a decline in demand and a slowly decreasing total number of slaves in many areas—trends that continued in the western counties, northern Maryland, and on the Eastern Shore until 1860. Rising prices for slaves, due to the expansion of the cotton economy in the Deep South, encouraged some Marylanders to sell a portion of their slaves (no longer needed due to diversification in agriculture and other trends—sales that peaked in the 1830s). Moreover, restrictions on manumission and free blacks in the cities increased as their numbers grew; whites feared free blacks represented economic competition and a

[48] Rockman, *Scraping By*, 7.

potential internal threat to the social order, forcing planters, merchants, and industrialists to re-evaluate their economic ventures and social control valves. A number of petitions and laws went before the state legislature beginning in the late 1820s that proposed restrictions on or even prohibition of free blacks in particular artisan trades and as hack owners or drivers—although most of these did not become law.[49] In fact, as Richard Morris has shown, Maryland by necessity had a more flexible labor structure than the rest of the South precisely because it was half slave and half free. Rather than simply prohibiting blacks in particular trades, Marylanders used contracts (with free black wage laborers or with hired slaves) to control the black population's mobility, enforce the length of service, and ensure the performance of duties. White Marylanders used the jails to enforce those contracts as well as a method to control free blacks by arresting them for various "criminal" offenses or suspected vagrancy.[50]

By the 1850s, however, economic competition was increasingly problematic for poor whites, immigrants, and free blacks in Baltimore. The number of free blacks in Baltimore stagnated during the 1850s, especially viewed alongside the rapid growth of the population between 1790 and 1850. As Ray Della argues, this resulted from limited economic opportunities in the city; economic segregation was developing a social context as hostility towards blacks and immigrants grew in direct proportion to the degree of difficulty native whites felt in finding jobs and economic security for themselves. Slaves who were hired out competed with immigrants and poor whites as well as free blacks, and in that competition free blacks were particularly vulnerable (being both expendable

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[49] Ibid., 17.
[50] Richard B. Morris, "Labor Controls in Maryland in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Southern History* 14 (Aug. 1948): 385–400.

labor and without any white defense).[51] In fact, there were labor disputes from the beginning of increased immigration trends during the 1830s; factions of Irish laborers rioted over wages along the C & O Canal in 1834, and Irish and German immigrants rioted again in 1839.[52]

Here it is worth noting these demographic trends in more detail. Immigration to Maryland, like the rest of the United States, came primarily in two waves—one before the Revolution and a second wave beginning in the 1830s and increasing exponentially in the 1840s and 1850s (continuing through the war). The first wave of immigrants to Maryland consisted primarily of Germans, with additional groups coming from Northern Europe and England in smaller numbers. These individuals traveled west to Frederick County or remained in Baltimore, but were well-established and integrated members of the Baltimore community by the turn of the nineteenth century. They identified strongly with their native country—preserving their ethic heritage and language through churches, social clubs, schools, and other community activities—and when a second wave of German immigrants began arriving in the 1840s, these pre-existing organizations provided aid and housing to the new arrivals to help integrate them quickly.[53] Irish immigrants were less successful integrating to Baltimore's environs and experienced more hostility from native whites. Although it is difficult to know precisely how many immigrants came through the port of Baltimore, not all of whom stayed in Maryland

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[51] M. Ray Della, Jr., "An Analysis of Baltimore's Population in the 1850's," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 68 (Spring 1973): 20–35. See also: Christopher Phillips, *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790–1860* (Urbana, Ill., 1997).

[52] W. David Baird, "Violence along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal: 1839," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 66 (Summer 1971): 121–34; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), September 12, 1839; *Herald* (Frederick), February 1, 1834.

[53] Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans: A History* (Princeton, NJ, 1948), 426–29. See also: Jörg Echternkamp, "Emerging Ethnicity: The German Experience in Antebellum Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 86 (Spring 1991): 1–22.

obviously, the German Society offers some insight from its own internal records: between 1833 and 1840 approximately 44,500 persons paid the commutation fee to the city, another 50,000 paid during the 1840s, and another 73,700 paid during the 1850s.[54] Although these figures only account for individuals from the German states, they give some indication of the significant influx of people arriving in Baltimore annually and illustrate how native Marylanders often felt overwhelmed with foreign peoples and tongues in their own city. Although there are not specific categories to determine how many immigrants stayed in Maryland, the 1850 census recorded over 51,600 foreign born white individuals, and 198 foreign-born free blacks, in the state.[55]

How do these figures relate to the rest of the free-black, slave, and white populations in 1860? Given the state's population in 1850, the foreign-born individuals represented 12 percent of the white population.[56] As one would expect with the thousands of immigrants passing through the port of Baltimore—and the draw of available land and employment opportunities in the city of Baltimore, Baltimore, Frederick and Washington Counties—the white population grew steadily in western and central Maryland. Frederick County's growth, based on the prosperous city of Frederick with its iron foundries, tanneries, brick makers, and other businesses, is particularly remarkable considering both Howard and Carroll Counties were carved from it during the antebellum decades and it still remained the second most populous county throughout the era.[57] As one would anticipate, demographic trends indicate an exodus from the Eastern

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[54] Louis P. Hennighausen (comp.), *History of the German Society of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1909), 97.
[55] *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (first published 1853; New York, 1990), p. 221. Dats is not broken down by county totals, only by state totals.
[56] Maryland's total population broke down for 1850 included almost 13 percent free black, over 15 percent slave, and over 71 percent white.
[57] Frederick City had 8,142 inhabitants in 1860, the second largest city in Maryland. Riley Moffat, *Population History of Eastern U.S. Cities and Towns, 1790–1870* (Metuchen, NJ, 1992), 63–66.

Shore and southern Maryland: the migration of planter's sons—often with their inheritance in slave property—out of the soil depleted regions and the movement of middling and poor whites seeking land or employment opportunities to the west led to stagnation or a slight decline in the white population at the close of the antebellum period. Table 1.4 shows the white population throughout the antebellum period, culminating with over 515,000 persons in 1860.

Maryland did experience a general decline in slaveholding in almost every county outside of southern Maryland, particularly after 1830 due in part to the internal slave trade and westward migration. As Table 1.5 demonstrates, trends were relatively consistent within regions as well as across regions within the state. The Eastern Shore counties did experience a decline in the total number of slaves, a trend several historians have observed, although with some minor variations in when that decline began.[58] Caroline, Kent, and Queen Anne's Counties saw declining slave populations from 1790 onward; Somerset and Dorchester held steady figures until 1830, then declined; and Talbot and Worcester Counties fluctuated but averaged around the same number, ending with a minor decrease in 1860. The western counties—Alleghany, Carroll, Frederick, and Washington—are indicative of the patterns highlighted by Whitman and Rockman, peaking during the 1820s and early 1830s before declining thereafter as the demand for slave labor to clear farmsteads and mine coal and iron ores decreased—replaced increasingly with immigrant labor as discussed earlier in this chapter. Likewise central and northern Maryland peaked around 1820, including Harford and Baltimore Counties

[58] Whitman, for instance, uses Dorchester County along with Prince George's and Baltimore Counties as the representative sample for his work, *The Price of Freedom*, 10. As the table demonstrates, there still were variations within any particular region making representative sampling difficult.

Table 1.4

White Population by County, 1790–1860

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
Alleghany	4,539	5,703	6,176	7,664	9,569	14,663	21,633	27,215
Anne Arundel	11,664	9,737	12,439	13,428	13,874	14,630	16,542	11,704
Baltimore City	11,925	20,900	36,212	48,055	61,720	81,147	140,666	184,520
Baltimore Co.	18,953	23,100	21,021	24,580	30,619	24,184	34,187	46,722
Calvert	4,211	3,889	3,680	3,711	3,788	3,585	3,630	3,997
Caroline	7,028	6,759	6,932	7,144	6,241	5,334	6,096	7,604
Carroll	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	15,221	18,667	22,525
Cecil	10,055	6,542	9,652	11,923	11,478	13,329	15,472	19,994
Charles	10,124	9,043	7,398	7,025	6,789	6,022	5,665	5,796
Dorchester	10,010	9,415	10,415	10,095	10,685	10,629	10,747	11,654
Frederick	26,937	26,478	27,983	32,007	36,703	28,975	33,314	38,391
Harford	10,784	2,238	14,606	11,217	11,314	12,041	14,413	17,971
Howard	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	9,081
Kent	6,748	5,511	5,222	5,315	5,044	5,616	5,616	7,347
Montgomery	11,679	8,508	9,731	9,082	12,103	8,279	9,435	11,349
Prince George's	10,004	8,346	6,471	7,935	7,687	7,823	8,901	9,650
Queen Anne's	8,171	7,315	7,529	7,226	6,659	6,132	6,936	8,415
Somerset	8,272	9,340	9,162	10,384	11,371	11,485	13,385	15,332
St. Mary's	8,216	6,678	6,158	6,033	6,097	6,070	6,223	6,798
Talbot	7,231	7,070	7,349	8,024	11,371	6,063	7,084	8,106
Washington	14,472	16,108	15,591	19,247	21,277	24,724	26,930	28,305
Worcester	7,626	10,723	11,490	11,232	11,811	11,765	12,401	13,442
Maryland Totals	**208,649**	**203,403**	**235,117**	**260,222**	**291,108**	**317,717**	**417,943**	**515,918**

Return of the Whole Number of Persons within the Several Districts of the United States (1791; New York, 1990), 47; *Return of the Whole Number of Persons within the Several Districts of the United States* (1801; New York, 1990), [51]; *Aggregate amount of each Description of Persons within the United States of America* (1811; New York, 1990), 53; *Census for 1820* (1821; New York, 1990), [87–91]; *Aggregate Amount of Each Description of Persons within the United States and Their Territories, according to the Census of 1830* (1830; New York, 1990), 80–83; *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States* (1841; New York, 1990), 142–53; *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (1853; New York, 1990), 215–30; *Population of the United States in 1860* (1864; New York, 1990), 210–17.

Table 1.5

Slave Population by County, 1790–1860

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
Alleghany	258	499	620	795	818	812	724	666
Anne Arundel	10,130	9,114	11,693	10,301	10,345	9,819	11,249	7,332
Baltimore City	1,255	2,843	4,672	4,357	4,110	3,199	2,946	2,218
Baltimore County	5,877	6,830	6,697	6,720	6,533	4,396	3,772	3,182
Calvert	4,305	4,101	3,937	33,668	3,899	4,170	4,486	4,609
Caroline	2,057	1,865	1,520	1,574	1,177	752	808	739
Carroll	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1,122	975	783
Cecil	3,407	2,103	2,467	2,342	1,705	1,352	844	950
Charles	10,085	9,558	12,435	9,419	10,129	9,182	9,584	9,653
Dorchester	5,337	4,566	5,032	5,168	5,001	4,227	4,282	4,123
Frederick	3,641	4,572	5,671	6,685	6,370	4,445	3,913	3,243
Harford	3,417	515	4,431	3,320	2,947	2,643	2,166	1,800
Howard	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2,862
Kent	5,433	4,474	4,249	4,071	3,191	2,735	2,627	2,509
Montgomery	6,030	6,288	7,572	6,396	6,447	5,135	5,114	5,421
Prince George's	11,176	12,191	9,189	11,185	11,585	10,636	11,510	12,479
Queen Anne's	6,674	6,517	6,381	5,588	4,872	3,960	4,270	4,174
Somerset	7,070	7,432	6,975	7,241	6,556	5,377	5,588	5,089
St. Mary's	6,985	6,399	6,000	6,047	6,183	5,761	5,842	6,549
Talbot	4,777	4,775	4,878	4,768	4,173	3,687	4,134	3,725
Washington	1,286	2,200	2,656	3,201	2,909	2,546	2,090	1,435
Worcester	3,836	4,398	4,427	4,551	4,032	3,539	3,444	3,648
Maryland Totals	**103,036**	**101,240**	**111,502**	**107,398**	**102,994**	**89,495**	**90,368**	**87,189**

Return of the Whole Number of Persons within the Several Districts of the United States (1791; New York, 1990), 47; *Return of the Whole Number of Persons within the Several Districts of the United States* (1801; New York, 1990), [51]; *Aggregate amount of each Description of Persons within the United States of America* (1811; New York, 1990), 53; *Census for 1820* (1821; New York, 1990), [87–91]; *Aggregate Amount of Each Description of Persons within the United States and Their Territories, according to the Census of 1830* (1830; New York, 1990), 80–83; *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States* (1841; New York, 1990), 142–53; *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (1853; New York, 1990), 215–30; *Population of the United States in 1860* (1864; New York, 1990), 210–17. Also note that Carroll County was created in 1837 from Baltimore and Frederick Counties; Howard County was created in 1851 from Baltimore and Anne Arundel Counties. This explains some of the drastic statistical drops apparent in the table outside of the numbers involved in the internal slave trade. The astute observer will note that Wicomico and Garrett Counties are not listed; Wicomico was created in 1867 and Garrett County in 1872.

and the city of Baltimore. Cecil County located at the top of the Chesapeake Bay—both an Eastern Shore and central Maryland county, and situated along the Pennsylvania border near Philadelphia—actually had declining slave figures during the entire period due to its locale. Howard County was also in central Maryland but lacks a long-term pattern because it was created from Anne Arundel and Frederick Counties in 1851. Lastly, southern Maryland had the most clearly defined pattern as a region: Anne Arundel, Calvert, Charles, Montgomery, Prince George's and St. Mary's Counties all averaged roughly the same number of slaves throughout with some minor fluctuations (including a drop for 1860 in Anne Arundel County, accounted for by the creation of Howard County).

Recognizing the general downward trend in slave ownership across Maryland, except in the southernmost counties where it remained steady up to 1860, is part of the story. On the other hand, the rapid growth of the free black population across the state in the antebellum decades is the second half of the story. Table 1.6 highlights this trend: the city of Baltimore saw an astronomical rise in the number of free blacks, and every other county saw a general increase throughout the antebellum years. Only Alleghany County, in the mountainous far western portion of the state, had less than one thousand free blacks in 1860. Several counties had well over four thousand free blacks by 1860, including Anne Arundel County in southern Maryland where free blacks represented 20 percent of the total population. Many of Maryland's manumitted slaves ended up in Baltimore, where these 25,680 persons could find a support network and opportunity amid the developing African American community, but just as significant are the other 58,262 free blacks who lived and worked throughout the state. Table 1.7 highlights an

Table 1.6

Free Black Population by County, 1790–1860

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
Alleghany	12	101	113	195	222	215	412	467
Anne Arundel	804	1,560	2,536	3,382	4,076	5,083	4,602	4,864
Baltimore City	323	2,771	5,671	10,326	14,790	17,967	25,442	25,680
Baltimore County	604	1,526	1,537	2,163	3,098	3,486	3,633	4,231
Calvert	136	307	388	694	1,213	1,474	1,530	1,841
Caroline	421	602	1,001	1,390	1,652	1,720	2,788	2,786
Carroll	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	898	974	1,225
Cecil	163	373	947	1,783	2,249	2,551	2,623	2,918
Charles	404	571	412	567	851	819	913	1,068
Dorchester	528	2,365	2,661	2,496	3,000	3,987	3,848	4,684
Frederick	213	473	783	1,767	2,716	2,985	3,760	4,957
Harford	775	317	2,221	1,387	2,068	2,436	2,777	3,644
Howard	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1,395
Kent	655	1,786	1,979	2,067	2,266	2,491	3,143	3,411
Montgomery	294	262	677	922	1,266	1,255	1,311	1,552
Prince George's	164	648	4,929	1,096	1,202	1,080	1,138	1,198
Queen Anne's	618	1,025	2,738	2,138	2,866	2,541	3,278	3,372
Somerset	268	586	1,058	1,954	2,239	2,646	3,483	4,571
St. Mary's	343	622	636	894	1,179	1,393	1,633	1,866
Talbot	1,076	1,591	2,003	1,597	2,483	2,340	2,593	2,964
Washington	64	342	483	627	1,082	1,580	1,828	1,677
Worcester	178	449	1,054	1,638	2,430	3,073	3,014	3,571
Maryland Totals	**8,043**	**18,287**	**33,927**	**39,730**	**52,938**	**62,020**	**74,723**	**83,942**

Return of the Whole Number of Persons within the Several Districts of the United States (first published 1791; (New York, 1990), 47; *Return of the Whole Number of Persons within the Several Districts of the United States* (first published 1801; New York, 1990), [51]; *Aggregate amount of each Description of Persons within the United States of America* (first published 1811; New York, 1990), 53; *Census for 1820* (first published 1821; New York, 1990), [87–91]; *Aggregate Amount of Each Description of Persons within the United States and Their Territories, according to the Census of 1830* (first published 1830; New York, 1990), 80–83; *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States* (first published 1841; New York, 1990), 142–53; *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (first published 1853; New York, 1990), 215–30; *Population of the United States in 1860* (first published 1864; New York, 1990), 210–17. Note: The statistics recorded in the 1790, 1800, and 1810 census collections counted "all other free persons," which was predominately free blacks but could have included other individuals (a small number of Native Americans for instance). I included these figures to offer some insight going back to 1790; the 1820 census was first to specify free blacks.

Table 1.7

Total Black Population as a Percentage of Total County Population, 1790–1860

	1790	**1800**	**1810**	**1820**	**1830**	**1840**	**1850**	**1860**
Alleghany	6	10	11	11	10	10	5	4
Anne Arundel	48	52	53	50	51	51	49	51
Baltimore City	12	21	22	23	23	24	17	13
Baltimore County	26	27	28	27	24	24	18	14
Calvert	51	53	54	54	57	57	62	62
Caroline	26	27	27	29	31	31	37	32
Carroll	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	12	10	8
Cecil	26	28	26	26	26	26	18	16
Charles	51	53	63	61	62	62	65	65
Dorchester	37	42	42	43	43	43	43	43
Frederick	13	16	19	21	20	20	19	18
Harford	28	27	22	30	31	31	26	23
Howard	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	32
Kent	47	53	54	54	52	52	51	45
Montgomery	35	43	46	45	39	39	41	38
Prince George's	53	61	67	61	63	63	59	59
Queen Anne's	47	51	43	52	54	54	52	47
Somerset	47	46	47	47	44	44	40	38
St. Mary's	47	51	52	54	55	55	55	55
Talbot	45	47	48	44	51	51	49	45
Washington	9	13	17	17	16	16	13	10
Worcester	34	31	32	36	35	35	34	35
Maryland Totals	**35**	**37**	**38**	**36**	**35**	**35**	**28**	**25**

interesting point of comparison for the rest of the Deep South: in particular, there were numerous counties in Maryland that were 40, 50, and even 60 percent black (slave and free populations) throughout the antebellum period, representing a large proportion of the population in these areas at ratios one would usually expect to see only in the Deep South. Although not all of these blacks were slaves, these ratios supported the same racial attitudes (and fears) common in the Deep South where slaves were equal to or outnumbered whites.

Marylanders, then, were still part of a southern culture or mindset in 1860, at least as much as they were part of an emerging industrial wage-labor society developing in the North. They were neither North nor South, although many felt themselves more attached to the South and voiced those connections in the politics of era, as will be seen in the next chapter. The social, cultural, economic and demographic patterns highlighted in this chapter played a significant role in the politics of antebellum years, and Maryland's multi-faceted and confused identity is even more evident during the 1850s in the popularity of various colonization and nativist schemes that dominated the party system at the state level. The Know Nothing or American Party lost its ascendency in Maryland not in 1856, like most of the nation, but in 1860, with the Democratic Party briefly retaking control of Maryland before the outbreak of war—an event where Maryland's lack of clarity regarding its identity became a critical issue for state and Federal leaders.

Maryland was a divided state in 1860, with ties to both the North and South. The state was developing a mixed economy that included iron production, mining, manufacturing and canning industries, textile factories, along with it continuing strong domestic and international commerce—characteristics similar to developments in the

leading U.S. industrial centers of the northeast—while it also shared tendencies with the southern states in its persisting agricultural economy and the large number of blacks (both free and enslaved) in the state. It could have gone either way in 1861—joining the Confederacy or remaining in the Union—had Abraham Lincoln not intervened to preserve the nation. Maryland was too valuable strategically to be left to its own divided heritage as the Civil War broke out. Yet while much hard data suggested that Maryland was truly neither southern nor northern in 1860, perhaps the majority of Marylanders sentimentally at least felt closer ties with the South, sentiments they expressed in the newspaper and political debates of the 1850s and into 1861. Events over the next few years tested and eventually dissolved that traditional identity.

Chapter Two

A Border State with Southern Sympathies

Throughout the antebellum era Maryland consistently supported both compromise and the institution of slavery in the national discourse, although the state was never as vocal as South Carolina or most of the Deep South states in defense of the institution. Because slavery held an esteemed position in their society, in addition to the large number of free blacks in the state, Marylanders viewed race as the most important element in state politics, and race was only overshadowed momentarily when the state's financial crises became acute. Race and the threat of bankruptcy were the two dominant topics in Maryland politics before the Civil War, and race continued to be the sticking point for political debates during the war as Maryland shifted from a defense of slavery (which ended in 1862 when the Emancipation Proclamation proved to be the writing on the wall), to demanding compensated emancipation (which lasted into 1867), and finally to limited civil rights for the freedmen. In the end, race and class were at the heart of Maryland's identity dilemma as proponents of wage labor and supporters of slave labor tried to pull the state in both directions simultaneously. Sometimes the two systems coexisted, as they did at the Maryland Chemical Works for a time, but in general the meshing of these two ideologies—along with the growing number of immigrants also competing for jobs—led to increasingly violent labor protests, election–day violence, and racial violence both in Baltimore and in the outlying counties.[1] The story of Maryland politics in the antebellum era mirrors this struggle to determine the political, social, and

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[1] For a discussion of the Maryland Chemical Works, see: T. Stephen Whitman, "Industrial Slavery at the Margin: The Maryland Chemical Works," *Journal of Southern History* 59 (Feb. 1992): 31–62.

economic direction of the state discussed in the last chapter, and it foreshadows the difficulties in the state during the first year of the war, including the Baltimore Riot.

Focusing first on the antebellum years, one notices that political turmoil in Maryland between 1820 and 1850 focused primarily on two things: the state's finances and the dramatic growth of the free black population. Many of the secondary debates—including public education, tariffs, foreign immigration and out-migration of native whites, among other topics—in the end came full circle back to the underlying defense of slavery as an economic institution and the resulting limits that placed on agriculture, reform movements, and opportunities for wage labor even in the growing urban center of Baltimore. However, the issue of sectional identity was not the focus of state politics before the 1850s; Maryland changed with the times but its citizens did not pause to consider how those steps towards industry and integrated markets with the North were leading to a confrontation with their own southern identity.

Like other parts of the nation, Maryland experienced smaller-scale recessions following the end of the War of 1812 and again in the 1820s as the United States tried to strike a balance between trade and tariffs in the competitive global markets for foodstuffs and manufactures. Indeed, the 1830s proved to be the decisive decade for the state; fiscal policies decreed by President Andrew Jackson's administration exacerbated poor investment decisions by the General Assembly and rampant speculation by individual citizens, leading Maryland to the verge of bankruptcy several times in the late 1830s and early 1840s.

Maryland's serious financial woes began in 1834 with the collapse of several regional banks including the Bank of Maryland and continued to grow during the

nationwide Panic of 1837. The Bank of Maryland collapsed in March 1834 due to gross mismanagement. The board of directors, including Evan Poultney, Reverdy Johnson, and Evan T. Ellicott, issued paper currency recklessly, allowing the ratio of bank notes to specie reserves to exceed 50 to 1 by the time of the bank's failure. Many of Baltimore's middle-class laborers lost their family's savings in the process—almost $2 million. Meanwhile, almost a thousand Baltimoreans had been imprisoned during 1831 for debts amounting to less than $10, and although the harsh debtors' laws were somewhat modified that same year—increasing the minimum to $30 for jail—the legislature repealed that change in 1833. Thus, the hypocrisy of oppressive debtors laws and the widespread injury to low and middle income families was simply too much; when the audit of the Bank of Maryland ran into the summer of 1835 with no clear remedy or punishment for the crime, angry citizens took to the streets of Baltimore and rioted. On August 6 Reverdy Johnson's house was destroyed by fire, and other members of the board experienced mob violence and the loss of property during the ensuing chaos that lasted several days.[2]

The failure of banks in Maryland did not encourage wiser fiscal policies, however, as the state legislature continued to appropriate large sums of money for internal improvement projects, a trend it began in 1826. Almost annually throughout the 1830s the legislature invested in bonds, or otherwise extended credit, to both the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The C& O Canal received $2 million from the state in 1833, the same year that both Virginia and the

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[2] Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634–1980* (Baltimore, 1988), 230; James S. Van Ness, "Economic Development, Social and Cultural Changes: 1800–1850," in *Maryland: A History 1632-1974*, Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds., (Baltimore, 1974), 200–1; and Robert E. Shalhope, *The Baltimore Bank Riot: Political Upheavel in Antebellum Maryland* (Urbana, Ill., 2009).

federal government stopped supporting the project. And although the canal was still behind schedule in 1836, Maryland extended another $3 million in credit. While these were worthy endeavors that eventually paid off in the 1850s, the companies had made little progress to that point in time and these expenditures were investments that the state could ill-afford to make amid its already unstable financial situation. By 1840 the state had given the C & O Canal alone almost $7.2 million, with no return on those investments. For the B & O Railroad the legislature procured over $4 million between 1833 and 1836 to build extensions of the main line to Washington, to Annapolis, and to Pennsylvania. Appropriations were even included for an Eastern Shore railroad—a line that was never constructed—to appease legislators on the shore who were beginning to oppose the spending, not for fiscal prudence but because all the projects were planned for the western shore. The members of the General Assembly rarely questioned the expenditures themselves, hoping instead that the profits from such ventures would provide a quick return, and more, to the state treasury. Instead, by 1840 the yearly interest rate for the almost $15 million in debt, primarily owed to foreign investors, was over $580,000, when just ten years earlier the state's entire operating budget averaged less than $300,000. [3]

To solve this crisis the state proposed various drastic measures including repudiating the debt outright, although that measure was never passed. Beginning in 1841 the legislature did pass several measures to raise the necessary revenues: they increased property taxes, secured a constitutional amendment that ended state financing for public works, and with the help of Governor Thomas G. Pratt, an ex-Democrat turned

[3] Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament*, 231; Van Ness, "Economic Development, Social and Cultural Changes," 195–7.

Whig from Prince George's County, revised taxes on inheritance, marriage, wills, and even stamp fees (over Democratic objections). Maryland suspended payments on its debts between 1841 and 1848 but resumed payment and was righting the financial ship by 1850.[4]

The 1830s were decisive years for constitutional reform as well; the spirit of democratic agitation that spurred citizens to riot over the failure of the bank and to protest wage cuts in Baltimore and western Maryland in 1834 and 1839 (as seen in the last chapter), also led to changes in the structure of the state government. The release of the 1830 census data brought to the forefront long-existing fissures between the eastern and western shores in Maryland, highlighted by the under-representation of the latter in state politics. The state's first constitution (1776) concentrated power among the gentry class by establishing an electoral college to determine senators for the seats in the upper house. Further, both the governor and governor's council would be elected by a joint ballot in the legislature. However, the party controlling the Senate had a fifteen-vote majority for those elections—and frequently governors were chosen from the traditional political families of southern Maryland and the Easter Shore. Additionally, members of the House of Delegates were no longer equitably distributed among the population centers by 1830, leading to bitter feelings in central and western Maryland where underrepresentation was most obvious. Baltimore and Frederick Counties, both with populations over 40,000 in 1830, elected the same number of Delegates as Caroline and Calvert Counties, each with

[4] Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament*, 232; Van Ness, "Economic Development, Social and Cultural Changes," 196–7.

around 9,000 inhabitants. Baltimore City, with over 80,000 persons, had even fewer elected representatives.[5]

Proposals for reform were put forth as early as 1833, culminating with the Reform Act of 1837. Support for the various constitutional reforms, including the popular election of the governor and state Senate as well as a redistribution of House seats, split the legislature by section more than party. Throughout the debates for reform in the mid 1830s, on average 30 Whig and Democratic legislators supported the reforms broadly, 5 others supported partial reform, and roughly 45 denounced the proposals altogether—with the bulk of the western and central portions of Maryland in favor of change, and southern Maryland along with the Eastern Shore in opposition to reform. Although the Democrats lost four senate seats over the reform issue in 1836, the question could no longer be tabled. The Reform Act of 1837 changed the structure of the legislative and executive branches; it abolished the governor's council and dictated that beginning with the election 1838, the governor would be popularly elected, limited to one term of three years, and that the governors must be elected by rotation from the eastern, southern, and north-western portions of the state. The House of Delegates would be re-apportioned every two decades based on the census, allowing for Baltimore and the western counties to have representation based more accurately on actual population figures (Baltimore City would have as many representatives as the largest county). Lastly the Reform Act eliminated the electoral college and based the election of senators on popular elections held every two years starting in 1838. These revisions solved immediate concerns and

[5] Van Ness, "Economic Development, Social and Cultural Changes," 273–5. Baltimore City is a separate governance unit and is not in or part of any county.

sectional discord between the two shores, and many of the specific provisions were carried over into the new state constitution written in 1850.[6]

The other political focus for Marylanders during the antebellum years revolved around the status and increasing number of free blacks in the state. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the exponential growth of the free black population alarmed many white Marylanders and represented a problem that no other state—in the South or the North—had to contend with on a similar level. Prominent white Marylanders attempted to solve the problem by early attaching themselves to the colonization cause. Francis Scott Key and Senator Robert H. Goldsborough were present at the founding meeting in 1816 when Robert Finley organized the American Colonization Society. Baltimore, in fact, formed one of the earliest auxiliaries in 1817. Native Marylanders and doctors Eli Ayres and Richard Randall secured the purchase of land for Liberia and served as the colonial agent in Liberia respectively. Moreover, the Maryland branch was reorganized in 1827 in the hope of establishing other chapters throughout the state, and the state legislature approved an annual appropriation of $1,000 for twenty years to help establish Maryland free blacks on the coast of Africa.[7]

The strongest movement for colonization efforts in the state came during the 1830s as Maryland moved to operate independent of the national organization. Robert Smith Finley, son of the national colonization movement's founder, appealed to Baltimoreans for support at several churches in February 1831, but Marylanders felt that

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[6] Van Ness, "Economic Development, Social and Cultural Changes," 273–9.

[7] Penelope Campbell, *Maryland in Africa: The Maryland State Colonization Society 1831–1857* (Urbana, Ill., 1971), 7, 10–11. See also: Anita Aidt Guy, *Maryland's Persistent Pursuit to End Slavery, 1850–1864* (New York, 1997); Jeffrey R. Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland: A Study of the Institution of Slavery* (Baltimore, 1889); P. J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement 1816–1865* (New York, 1961); Eric Burin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society* (Gainesville, Fla., 2005); and Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 1985).

the movement in the North was faltering. Moreover, contributions credited to the state in the national organization's journal were not spent for Maryland emigrants. John Latrobe, an attorney in Baltimore, helped Marylanders establish a new society that collected its own funds and set out to encourage local free blacks to emigrate. Eli Ayres was named the first traveling agent, charged with keeping track of contributions, members, and potential emigrants throughout the state. The rest of the board was filled with prominent businessmen rather than clergy, as Latrobe himself was selected a manager and the first three presidents included George Hoffman (also on the B & O Railroad board), Thomas Ellicott (president of the Union Bank of Maryland), and Nicholas Brice (a Baltimore judge). Thomas E. Bond, a vice-president in the organization, was a doctor in Baltimore and later became editor of the *Christian Advocate*, the newspaper of the Methodist Episcopal Church.[8]

Enthusiastic to begin their mission, the Maryland Colonization Society (MCS) organized the first ship to Liberia for the fall of 1831. Unfortunately, the national organization refused to allow the colonists to settle in Monrovia, leaving the ship, fully equipped and loaded with emigrants, sitting in Baltimore harbor. Although the national colonization society in Washington allowed the Maryland society to operate somewhat independently, they demanded a per capita rate be given to the national organization for every emigrant landed in Africa. Once the Maryland Colonization Society acquiesced and promised to reimburse the national organization out of the state funds, the ship sailed for Liberia, but with only thirty-one emigrants. Ayres had traveled throughout western and central Maryland along with the Eastern Shore rounding up potential emigrants at public meetings, but still found limited numbers willing to go (sixty had initially pledged

[8] Campbell, *Maryland in Africa*, 12–3, 18–22.

to go on the first trip). Interestingly, in western Maryland—where there were fewer slaves, more immigrants, and stronger inclinations for wage labor among the artisans and industries—whites were convinced that free blacks were a "public burden" and welcomed the idea of colonization. On the Eastern Shore, however, free blacks were vocal in their opposition, fearing that Ayres was in fact a slave dealer seeking to put them not on a ship to a new life of freedom but on one bound for slavery in the Deep South. Whites on the Eastern Shore were skeptical too; one black family had solicited the support of whites to fund their emigration to Liberia and instead took the money and settled in Baltimore.[9]

Hopes were high in 1831, however, as Ayres commented on the general interest level throughout the state and drafted a plan to meet the thirty-year goal of the society to relocate all the free blacks in Maryland. Ayres believed whites were willing to pay to relocate the 50,000 free blacks in Maryland at that time, and he estimated that over thirty years the total cost to accomplish that task would be about $9 per taxable white resident. He envisioned vessels going to Africa with emigrants and returning with goods to be sold in the United States, helping to defray the cost to white Marylanders. Ayres overestimated one critical dynamic, the willingness of free blacks to leave, as was soon apparent. Some blacks were legitimately unable to procure papers proving their freedom, or were unable to quickly resolve business and property matters to depart. But most changed their minds after learning of the drastic death rates during the "seasoning" period in Africa, which lasted for a year or more, or they simply refused to leave what was their native state too. Accounts from the group of emigrants, 146 in December of 1832,

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[9] Campbell, *Maryland in Africa*, 22–27, quotation is from p. 25.

recounted the lack of food and generally poor conditions and limited opportunities in Liberia.[10]

The horrid conditions of the settlement at Monrovia spurred renewed efforts in Maryland during 1832. Likewise, the Nat Turner rebellion in 1831 further convinced white Marylanders that free blacks should be removed from the state. Two acts passed by the state legislature in 1832 highlight the hardening of racial attitudes in the state. The first act passed by the General Assembly in March directed the governor to create a three-member board, drawn from the Maryland Colonization Society, to remove free blacks from the state and appropriated up to $20,000 for the first year to aid with their removal. Over the next twenty years, the board was authorized to spend up to $200,000 to achieve their task. Another law also required county clerks to report all new manumissions within the state. If the newly freed persons refused to go to Liberia, they were to be expelled forcibly from the state. There was a process by which free blacks could apply to remain in the state if they could support their claim by demonstrating (through white testimony) that they were of good character and could support themselves. This act proved to be difficult to enforce, however, as there were no clear instructions or financial support (for transport) to aid the local sheriff in executing these forced expulsions—and both Pennsylvania and Virginia forbade the entry of free blacks into their states.[11]

The second act was directed at resident blacks who were already free. Free blacks by 1832 were already disenfranchised (since 1810) and were not permitted to testify against whites in court; now they faced a multitude of additional restrictions on their activities and property. The new legislation restricted the entry of free blacks into the

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[10] Campbell, *Maryland in Africa*, 26–9, 44–5.
[11] Campbell, *Maryland in Africa*, 34–6.

state, setting a fine of $50 for each week after an initial ten day period that the individual remained in the state. In addition, anyone hiring a free black who arrived after June 1832 would be fined. Free blacks were restricted from owning weapons unless they applied for an annual permit through their local authorities, which could be revoked at any time, and they likewise had to obtain documents from local justices verifying their ownership of various items—tobacco, pork, corn, etc.—before they could sell them publically. They were not permitted to purchase liquor without a permit (which applied to slaves buying for their masters as well), nor were they allowed to attend religious meetings without a white person present—the exception being on a plantation as authorized by the master or in the cities of Baltimore and Annapolis as long as the event was finished by 10 o'clock at night. Lastly, in matters where the punishment was otherwise less severe (e.g. not a capital offense), the penalty for crimes committed by free blacks now included the possibility of being sent from the state or forcibly transported to Liberia.[12]

To offer a solution to the problem of convincing blacks to go to Liberia, since the national society's mismanagement was considered the reason for poor conditions and high death rates, the Maryland Colonization Society set out to acquire its own settlement on the coast of Africa. Beginning in 1833, the Maryland Colonization Society began to raise funds for establishing a new settlement, and they did so by appealing to the sectional divide already apparent in the national organization. The MCS made it clear that while it did not want northern interference with slavery and domestic institutions in its state, neither did it support such activities anywhere else in the South; it also hoped that slavery would gradually disappear from the state, believing that would naturally occur at some distant point in Maryland's future. By doing this, the MCS adroitly

[12] Campbell, *Maryland in Africa*, 36–7.

decided to create a space for its own new settlement to garner support from the southern states, who resented the intrusiveness of the national organization, while walking a vaguely antislavery line that would also bring financial support from northern sources. The MCS successfully purchased land at Cape Palmas in 1834 and began marking lots and setting up homes and farms with migrants drawn away from Monrovia and with new arrivals from Maryland. By 1840, the MCS had collected almost $80,000, with over $15,000 of that in donations, and they had sent some 624 persons to its settlements in Africa.[13]

Although it never transported free blacks in the numbers they had hoped, the Maryland Colonization Society was still relatively active in the 1850s. Before its eventual re-combination with the national organization in the latter part of the decade, the MCS continued to publish the *Maryland Colonization Journal* and sent copies of its 1850 report to every state in the union. By 1852, having spent a total just over $317,000—almost $187,000 coming from state appropriations—it had successfully relocated 1,049 persons, 934 of whom were from Maryland (the others came from Virginia and Georgia).[14] It is important to note, however, that despite its own financial difficulties, the General Assembly remained true to its pledge of financial support, for the total of almost $200,000. It was not the level of funding the state allocated for internal development, but it was one check they consistently wrote throughout the 1830s and 1840s. Yet the discussion of the merits of colonization—or other local issues—did not, before the late 1850s, shape how the state positioned itself in the national debate over regional identity.

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[13] Campbell, *Maryland in Africa,* 55-92, 123.
[14] Campbell, *Maryland in Africa*, 192–203.

A good indication of where Maryland stood relative to the rest of the South on the question of slavery can be seen in state's response to the Nashville Convention in 1850. The Nashville Convention, held in June, brought together delegates from nine southern states to discuss steps towards southern unity in order to better protect slavery in the states as well as in the territories. Initial discussions for southern unity began in December 1848 at a meeting of southern congressmen, which included Maryland. For the Nashville Convention, however, Marylanders chose not to attend. The Compromise of 1850 was already garnering serious debate in Congress, which kept some southern states from participating in Nashville while they awaited positive developments in Washington. Likewise, Maryland had, and continued to follow during the 1850s, a moderate course on sectional issues. Governor Philip F. Thomas, in his annual message to the General Assembly, advised the state to support the South should the Wilmot Proviso, or other restrictions on slavery, be passed by Congress, but otherwise to approach the crisis with patience. The General Assembly passed resolutions in agreement but did not discuss sending representatives to the Nashville Convention, nor did the counties elect delegates to send to Tennessee.[15] Consistently throughout the 1850s and the secession crisis, Maryland would maintain this moderate disposition, hoping to resolve issues of the day through compromise and preservation of the Union—all the while stating clearly the state's identification with the southern cause.

In fact, the national crises of the 1850s only compounded local problems and widened fissures within the state political parties. The antebellum decades were years of transformative changes in Maryland, a process that only continued into the 1850s—the

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[15] Thelma Jennings, *The Nashville Convention: Southern Movement for Unity, 1848–1851* (Memphis, Tenn., 1980), v, 76; See also: William J. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland from 1850 to 1861* (Baltimore, 1974), 26–9.

C& O Canal began full-time operation and the B & O Railroad was nearing completion in 1850, in addition to a host of new buildings, schools, and hundreds of thousands of immigrants passing through the port of Baltimore. Both William J. Evitts and Jean H. Baker have highlighted how these ever-accumulating and far-reaching changes to Maryland society were confusing and worrisome for Marylanders.[16] Unsure of who they were, or who they were becoming, Marylanders throughout the 1850s regularly pushed for compromise, realizing that they resided along the battle lines of sectional tensions, and they avoided at all costs making a decision between the North and South. But at the same time that they vehemently avoided choosing a side, even into the summer of 1861 trying to carve out a position of "armed neutrality," many Marylanders, when pushed by the shrill voices of sectional politics in Congress, fell back on their traditional ties to the South. As one historian has noted, "Most Marylanders were sure that they lived in a Southern state, but they were much less certain about what this meant in practice."[17]

Independent of national struggles, Maryland politics in the 1850s were marked by violence and turmoil. Voters were becoming increasingly disaffected with politics by 1850 in Maryland, and the decade leading to the Civil War saw the dissolution of the Whig Party in the state as well as the ascendance, dominance, and decline of the Know Nothing or American Party by 1859. Violence and fraud became the hallmarks of elections in Baltimore, but the problems were not isolated to that city. Although the final shift to the traditional Democrat-Republican two-party system occurred around 1860, a

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[16] William J. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances*, 2–3, 25–6; Jean H. Baker, *Ambivalent Americans: The Know-Nothing Party in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1977).
[17] Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances*, 25.

few ex-Whig-turned Know-Nothing politicians like Governor Thomas Holiday Hicks would retain their offices into the first years of the war.[18]

In 1850 the Whig Party was losing ground in Maryland, and the Democratic Party was beginning to see a shift in its membership patterned after the national party's increasingly sectional position in support of the South. At that point the Whig Party was composed of two groups in Maryland society: one group resembled what historians think of as the traditional "Whig" of the antebellum period, particularly in the northern states—those who supported the banks, tariffs, and infrastructure improvements, and who in Maryland were generally the members of the upper classes in and around central and western Maryland—as well as a number of old Federalists from the pre-Jackson era. These ex-Federalists, or their children raised to believe as they did about politics, were the traditional families in power along the Eastern Shore and in southern Maryland. Tied as they were to those conservative values, and with their dominance of local politics, they resented the broad appeal of Jacksonian politics and refused to join the Democratic Party. This changed with the presidential election of 1852, however, when the Whigs nominated Winfield Scott as their candidate. Most Marylanders, not just these ex-Federalist Whigs, hoped that the Compromise of 1850 would hold, and they could not bring themselves to support a candidate who was not clearly supportive of the settlement that would preserve national peace. Whigs on the Eastern Shore and in southern Maryland were particularly concerned about the federal government honoring the new Fugitive Slave Laws, both to preserve their own property in slaves and to keep the rest of the South appeased, and they were repulsed by the anti-slavery leanings of northern members of the Whig Party. A prime example of this transition is Daniel Jenifer, the southern Maryland planter who

[18] Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances*, passim.

pushed for protections on Maryland tobacco in the 1830s and 1840s; he shed his Whig identity and joined the Democratic ranks in 1852. Helping move people like Jenifer along were events like Christiana in September 1851, where a Maryland wheat farmer and slaveholder, Edward Gorsuch, tried to claim his slave property in Christiana, Pennsylvania—a small Quaker town in southern Pennsylvania. Despite the assistance of U.S. marshals, Gorsuch was killed and his son injured by free blacks in the area who defended the runaway slaves.[19]

The Democratic candidate Franklin Pierce won Maryland in 1852, and the Whig Party dissolved within the state as ex-Federalists bolted for the Democratic Party, which was beginning to establish itself nationally as the party of the South. Strangely enough, the slaveholding ex-Federalists joined the wage laborers and yeoman farmers of Baltimore and western Maryland, who were already members of the Democratic Party, mixing free labor and slave labor all in one and mirroring Maryland's larger half-slave/half-free dichotomy. But the union did not last long, as a party surrounded by mystery was beginning to arise throughout the nation.[20]

In the winter of 1853–54 newspapers in Baltimore began to mention the rise of some mysterious party organization that was holding secretive meetings throughout the state. The Know-Nothing Party's rise to ascendancy in state politics would be complete by the elections that fall, largely because the citizens of Maryland were discontented with the breakdown of parties in the state and because they were living in the middle of the largest changes to their society ever seen, making them increasingly fearful of both local

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[19] Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances,* 21–53. See also: Thomas P. Slaughter, *Bloody Dawn: The Christiana Riot and Racial Violence in the Antebellum North* (New York, 1991) and Jonathan Katz, *Resistance at Christiana: The Fugitive Slave Rebellion, Christiana, Pennsylvania, September 11, 1851, A Documentary Account* (New York, 1974).

[20] Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances,* 21–50.

and national events. Labor unions and reform movements became popular, with multiple groups striking for a ten-hour work day (across the state, not just in Baltimore) from 1853 to 1855. The temperance movement also found traction among the citizens, with almost every county having its own organization by 1853. And while industrialization and urbanization were the root causes of many of the changes taking place, native white Marylanders—like other Americans who latched onto the American Party in the mid 1850s—could just as easily see the dramatic increase in the number of immigrants arriving in Baltimore annually as the prime culprit for the dissolution of "their" society—an increase from a little more than 4,600 immigrants in 1842 to over 427,000 persons in 1854, with between 200,000 and 400,000 individuals arriving each year from 1850 to 1855. Nativism was not a new idea in Maryland, but it took on new importance when an estimated 25 percent of these arrivals were staying in the state and competing for jobs and social space—in addition to the growing number of free blacks already struggling with whites for the same things. The immigrants, accurately or not, were perceived as the lowest orders of Europe and were looked down on by long-time Marylanders. Further, with those newly arrived frequently being Irish or German Catholics, they were regarded with even more suspicion when it came to the possibility of bloc voting and papal allegiances.[21]

As Jean Baker shows, the Know-Nothing Party actually became the majority party in Maryland through 1860, when members were absorbed into the Constitutional Union Party or in some cases, perhaps most famously Representative Henry Winter Davis, they joined the Republican Party. Where the national American Party collapsed after the election of 1856, along with most state organizations in the rest of the nation,

[21] Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances*, 54–73.

Maryland, Louisiana, and California were the only places where the party remained strong after 1857. The loss of the national organization actually helped Maryland Know-Nothings because they did not have to contend with a national party that was soft on enforcing the Fugitive Slave Laws or that limited the expansion of slavery in the territories to appease members in northern states; instead, they set their own agenda that would garner the most support. Baker asserts that the Know-Nothing Party was also attractive to Maryland voters because it capitalized on fears surrounding immigration, and in particular the dual threat to Protestant Christianity and American democracy (through bloc voting) posed by Catholicism. The reform spirit of the antebellum era, which was reaching its apex in Maryland in the 1850s, was turned not towards attacks on slaveholders as the root of national sins—the argument used in northern states, but which would not work in a slaveholding state like Maryland—but instead was turned towards Roman Catholicism. Some Protestant preachers in Baltimore, including Andrew B. Cross and Robert J. Breckinridge, published tracts against the Catholic Church as early as the 1830s, which led to attacks on two convents in the city in the 1830s. Preachers were enlisted again in the 1850s to spread the word about the dangers of Catholics in Maryland.[22]

Evitts argues that the Know-Nothings began to lose control of Maryland in 1859, primarily because they stopped pushing nativism and began promoting a platform based on unionism and defense of the Constitution. While this appealed to Marylanders, it did not provide the glue that held together disparate groups as well as fear of the potential threat represented by immigrants, especially Catholic immigrants. Marylanders also became disillusioned with the violence associated with elections in the 1850s. Street

[22] Baker, *Ambivalent Americans*, 1–23.

gangs, fire companies, and political clubs all used intimidation, violence, and fraud tactics to win elections, most notably in the Baltimore municipal elections of 1857. The shift in political power to the Democratic Party was most visible starting in the fall of 1859, partly in response to John Brown's Raid on Harpers Ferry.[23]

Before turning attention to the events of October 1859, it is worth noting Marylanders' responses to the Kansas-Nebraska Act—another significant national event of the 1850s and another moment of sectional violence revolving around slavery that reminded Marylanders of the dangers of failed compromise. Maryland's Congressmen did vote for the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, hoping that it would be the last compromise necessary for sectional strife. Otherwise, the bill received little comment in the newspapers of the time. The violence that broke out between border ruffians and free-staters, however, attracted more attention because with bloodshed, "Marylanders' worst fears were realized." Well aware that they were on the border, they believed nothing good would come of another failed compromise, especially when violence was becoming the hallmark of every clash between North and South.[24]

John Brown, who was also involved in the violence in Kansas, came to Maryland in the summer of 1859 to plan an attack against the South, hoping to incite a slave rebellion. Living under the alias Isaac Smith, Brown rented the Kennedy farmhouse in southern Washington County and scouted out the region around the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, just across the Potomac River. Along with twenty-one other men, including five free blacks and several of his sons, Brown crossed the B & O Railroad Bridge into the town of Harpers Ferry on the night of October 16, 1859. He

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[23] Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances*, 66–128.
[24] Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances,* 75.

seized weapons from the arsenal but decided to send his men out into the town to capture a prized commemorative sword given to George Washington that was then owned by one of Washington's descendents, an officer stationed at the arsenal. Brown's plan lacked organization, and while he waited out the night and early morning for the return of all his men from the town, word of what happened that night got out in the morning via train. Fearing northern abolitionists, by some accounts numbering 250 men, were attempting a major insurrection, militia units from Charlestown, Hagerstown, Frederick, and even Baltimore responded, as well as a detachment of U.S. Marines under the command of Col. Robert E. Lee. Soldiers arrived in Harpers Ferry on the afternoon of October 17, and Brown retreated to the guard house at the arsenal and barred the doors. After some attempts at negotiation, trying to force Brown to surrender, U.S. forces stormed the arsenal on the morning of October 18, killing most of Brown's party and capturing John Brown. Brown was charged with treason and attempting to incite a slave rebellion, and at his trial in early November, still suffering from wounds received during the assault that forced him to lie on a cot, he was found guilty. John Brown was hanged on December 2, 1859, in Charlestown, Virginia.

While many people in the North—including Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson who memorialized his death in prose and transformed him into a martyr—considered Brown a great crusader for the anti-slavery cause, in the South, including in Maryland, John Brown was villainized as the epitome of northern aggression and attempted interference with the institution of slavery. Marylanders were shocked that he had lived among them for six months, and the state legislature took steps to empower local sheriffs to question and arrest suspicious strangers, especially in western Maryland.

Brown's attack also cemented the rise of the Democratic Party in the state as the party that defended southern rights. Maryland would be a virtual split between the two southern candidates in the 1860 presidential election.[25]

The presidential election in November saw both John Breckinridge and John Bell as the popular choices in the state, an indication that Maryland had not lost all its ties to the South. Yet choosing between Breckinridge and Bell proved to be difficult for Marylanders. As Table 2.1 shows, even within sub-regions of the state there was frequently a mix of counties going for Breckinridge or Bell—the exceptions being the counties of western Maryland that Bell carried. Both candidates ran on conservative platforms focused on preservation of the Union while campaigning in Maryland, although Breckinridge was regularly criticized for his secessionist background by his opponents who were trying to draw some distinction between the two. Bell supporters stressed the importance of the election in deciding Union or disunion for the country and reminded the electorate that a vote for union was not a vote against slavery. There was no key victory for Breckinridge in Maryland that put him over the top—the numbers were close across the counties with only a handful of comparatively landslide victories in places like St. Mary's County and Baltimore County, although Bell likewise overwhelmingly carried Howard and Carroll Counties. Stephen Douglas did well in Allegany County and seemingly in Baltimore City, although expressed as a percentage of those voting, he still only had 5 percent of the votes in the city, roughly the same percentage he averaged in the rest of the counties. Abraham Lincoln received almost 5 percent in the city as well,

[25] Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances,* 124–34.

Table 2.1

Presidential Election of 1860

	Breckinridge	Bell	Douglas	Lincoln
Western Maryland				
Allegany	979	**1,521**	1,203	522
Washington	2,475	**2,567**	283	95
Frederick	3,167	**3,616**	445	103
Carroll	1,791	**2,295**	339	59
Central Maryland				
Baltimore	3,305	**3,388**	449	37
Baltimore City	**14,956**	12,604	1,503	1,083
Cecil	1,506	**1,792**	393	158
Eastern Shore				
Kent	694	**852**	74	42
Queen Anne's	879	**908**	87	0
Talbot	**898**	793	98	2
Caroline	616	**712**	100	12
Dorcheseter	1,176	**1,265**	31	35
Worcester	**1,425**	1,048	90	0
Somerset	1,339	**1,536**	89	2
Southern Maryland				
Montgomery	1,125	**1,155**	99	50
Howard	530	**830**	189	1
Anne Arundel	**1,107**	1,041	98	3
Prince George's	**1,048**	885	43	1
Charles	**723**	430	38	6
Calvert	386	**399**	43	1
St. Mary's	**920**	261	190	1
Maryland Totals	**42,282**	41,760	5,966	2,294

Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances*, 150.

which is far greater than his average number of votes in other counties, with the exception being again Allegany County.[26] Katherine Harvey has attributed this anomaly to the votes of Scotch and German miners brought directly to Allegany County to work in the coal mines during the 1830s and 1840s.[27] The only clear sectional pattern among the regions of Maryland is the almost non-existent number of votes cast for Lincoln in the largest slaveholding regions of southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore.

It is worth looking at western Maryland in detail momentarily, where all the counties went for Bell of the Constitutional Union Party but overall still demonstrated clear preferences for the southern candidates, a rather surprising trend given antebellum developments. Frederick County was home to the second largest city in the state (Fredrick with a population just over 8,000 persons in 1860); a significant industrial base including fourteen flour and grist mills, two saw mills, iron smelting operations at the Catoctin Furnace, a number of tanners, and smaller merchants and artisans specializing in wood-working, brick making, nail and iron works, confectionaries, photography studios, and grocers; an intellectual community that included an active literary society along with secondary schools and colleges for men and women; and, as has been shown, a significant population of free blacks and immigrants alongside the native whites. Frederick County—in terms of wealth, population, and industry—ranked third in the state behind only Baltimore City and Baltimore County respectively. But the county still was largely agricultural, producing wheat, corn, hay, and other products, in addition to containing the largest number of dairy cows and horses in the state. Orchards marked the

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[26] Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances*, 150.
[27] Katherine A. Harvey, "Building a Frontier Ironworks: Problems of Transport and Supply, 1837–1840," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 70 (Summer 1975): 149–66.

landscape of the northern, more mountainous parts of the county, but plantations and even some tobacco growers resided in the southern portion of the county.[28]

Thus, the victory for Bell was celebrated in Frederick as a victory for preservation of the Union over the militant positions taken by individuals of both sides in the national discourse, but the voting also shows how Maryland, even in this western, industrial region that never fit the tobacco plantation model of colonial and antebellum Maryland, still had strong ties to the South. When they had weighed in on the sectional controversies during the antebellum era, this is precisely what Marylanders had been saying—they sided with the South. This would become readily apparent during the secession winter when editorials were published regularly calling for "armed neutrality" and warning against coercion to keep states in the Union. In November 1860, however, the Frederick *Herald* joyfully proclaimed the victory: "It is highly gratifying to the friends of Bell and Everett in this county, to know that their good old county has rolled up an emphatic majority of 447 against Northern fanaticism and demonism, and secession."[29]

It should also be noted that there was no correlation between slaveholding districts (the largest number of slaves being in the southernmost districts) and votes for Breckinridge, the more pro-southern and pro-slavery candidate, as Bell won all of these

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[28] Riley Moffat, *Population History of Eastern U.S. Cities and Towns, 1790–1870* (Metuchen, NJ, 1992), 64; Bureau of the Census, *Agriculture of The United States in 1860; Compiled from the original returns of the Eighth Census, Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior, Joseph C.G. Kennedy, Superintendent of Census* (Washington, D.C., 1864), 72–3, 203; Peter Maynard, *In Search of Our History: The water-powered flour and grist mills of the Brunswick region* (Brunswick, Md.: Brunswick Historical Press, 2003), available from the Historical Society of Frederick County, map insert and pages 12-13; Advertisements from Frederick *Examiner*, dates May 30, June 6 and 13, and July 4 and 25, all 1860; and Bureau of the Census, *Statistics of the United States, (Including Mortality, Property, &c.,) in 1860; Compiled from the original returns and being the final exhibit of the Eighth Census, Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D.C., 1866), 304.

[29] Frederick *Herald*, November 13, 1860.

districts except Urbana (only losing there by eleven votes). In the northern and western portions of the county, mountainous regions not well suited to agriculture and with few slaves, Breckinridge—the more southern of the two candidates—was victorious.[30] There was clearly something else going on, an allegiance or identification with the South that pre-dated or perhaps overruled antebellum "progressive" developments.

The winter of the secession crisis was a long, anxious time for Marylanders. With its commercial ties to both the North and the South, the economy suffered from the uncertainties of the time: banks suspended specie payments and business slowed, causing a rise in unemployment.[31] One Frederick shopkeeper, Jacob Engelbrecht, described the economic effects in his diary: "[t]he times are now really gloomy nearly all business is at a standstill, money is very scarce, and of course a depreciation in the value of real estate & everything else. We hope for the continuation of this, our blessed Union, but the Lord knows what will be the final issue."[32]

Most Maryland papers stressed to their readers the importance of not overacting in an already tense situation. At the same time, a number of papers continued to highlight connections to the South and being prepared for war if it came. Speaking to "the present great crisis in the public affairs of the country," the Frederick *Herald* wrote:

> It [the crisis] is a very important matter and the people of Maryland should think soberly and calmly-*not as Democrats*, or partisans of any other character, but as citizens of a border slave-holding State, which while it is devoted to the Union as it is, must sympathise [sic] in the movements of her Southern sisters.

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[30] Michael Powell, "With Her Southern Sisters": Frederick County and the Election of 1860," in *Mid-Maryland: A Crossroads of History*, (London, 2005), 67–80; Richard R. Duncan, "The Era of the Civil War," in *Maryland: A History 1632–1974*, eds. Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds. (Baltimore, 1974), 333.

[31] Duncan, "The Era of the Civil War," 333.

[32] Jacob Engelbrecht, *Jacob Engelbrecht Diaries*, ed. William R. Quynn, vol. 2 (Frederick, Md.: Historical Society of Frederick County, Inc., 2001), entry for January 21, 1861.

> We do not think ourselves, that it is time, as yet, for Maryland to announce her position. Let her remain quiet until further developments.
>
> As far as we have been able to gather the sentiment of the people of Maryland, we think one thing is manifest, that while they do not think that the election of Lincoln to the Presidency is sufficient cause for any Southern State to secede, they will oppose the use of [any] measure to coerce a State into the Union, whose people may think differently from them upon the subject....
>
> Though Maryland should assume a position of neutrality, it should be one of *armed neutrality*. We should be fully prepared for any emergency that may arise. In these uncertain times no one can tell what a day may bring forth.—The course of Montgomery and his outlaws in Kansas—bucked by active sympathisers [sic] in the Northern States exhibits the fact that the abolitionists are determined to keep up the annoyance of the border slave-holding States, commenced by John Brown in our own neighborhood. It would be wise, we think, in the people of Maryland, not to neglect these warnings, but to prepare in time for the worst that may happen.[33]

This editorial is representative of many in late 1860 and the early months of 1861. Again, it comes from Frederick as well, a region one expects to be less divided on secession than southern Maryland or the Eastern Shore. Although loyalties were divided, citizens were clear in their belief that states should not be compelled by force, whichever side they chose. Marylanders were, however, waiting to see where the course of events took them.

Unfortunately, the political crisis accelerated with the secession of South Carolina on December 20, 1860, followed by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas within two months. Like the Upper South and border states, Maryland waited to see if Lincoln would allow these seven deep South states to leave peacefully. In addition, for geographical reasons Maryland had to wait until it was clear Virginia would

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[33] Frederick *Herald*, November 27, 1860.

secede, for Maryland did not want to have to face being isolated and surrounded by Union territory. Virginia did not secede until April 17, 1861, five days after Fort Sumter and just two days after Lincoln had issued a call for 75,000 troops.

Up until April, Maryland Governor Thomas H. Hicks refused to call the legislature into session to even discuss, let alone potentially vote on, secession. Responding by letter to the visit of two commissioners from Mississippi in December 1860, Hicks wrote: "[o]ur State is unquestionably identified with the Southern States, in feeling and by the institutions and habits which prevail among us. But she is also conservative, and, above all things, devoted to the Union of these States under the Constitution." He continued:

> The people of Maryland are anxious that time be given, and a opportunity afforded, for a fair and honorable adjustment of the difficulties and grievances of which they, more than the people of any other Southern State have a right to complain. And, in my opinion, if the people of this Union really desire its continuance and perpetuity, such adjustment may be effected. I hope and believe it will be effected—and promptly. And until the effort is found to be in vain, I cannot consent, by any precipitate or revolutionary action, to aid in the dismemberment of this Union.[34]

Hicks acted according to the plan that he spelled out in this letter to Mississippi Commissioner A. H. Handy—to keep Maryland from acting rashly—through the outbreak of war in April.

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[34] Thomas Holiday Hicks, Document I, Reply of the Governor of Maryland to the Commissioner from Mississippi, in Frank Moore (ed.), *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events, with Documents, Narratives, Illustrative Incidents, Poetry, Etc.* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1861), 1. Charles Dew discussions the secession commissioners in his work *Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War* (Charlottesville, VA, 2001). See also: George L. P. Radcliffe, *Governor Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore, 1901); since most of the papers of Governor Hicks were lost at the beginning of the twentieth century, this study, which was based largely on the papers, is the most comprehensive look at the Governor's life for modern readers.

However, the governor's plan did not prevent citizens from expressing their loyalties through violence and destruction of property. Throughout the war, but especially February through May of 1861, fires destroyed out buildings, houses, and businesses in the city of Frederick. In his diaries, Jacob Engelbrecht, a Frederick resident and merchant in his mid-sixties who was staunchly pro-Union, describes eight fires between February 19 and May 8, attributing them to rebel sympathizers in the city. The eighth fire occurred on the morning of May 8, 1861, at the Frederick County Courthouse in Frederick. The fire completely destroyed the building, damaging or destroying many records dating back to colonial times. Construction of a new courthouse cost the city fifty-thousand dollars.[35] The destruction was precursor to the riot that took place in Baltimore in the first days of the war.

Despite Governor Hicks's best efforts, Maryland was drawn into the fray on April 17 and 18, 1861, as troops responding to Lincoln's call began to arrive in Baltimore via the B & O Railroad. Pennsylvania soldiers passing through the city on their way to Washington, D.C., created problems by agitating the already strained tensions of the citizens. Baltimore, not unlike Frederick, had mixed sympathies, and generally had more vocal and more ardent supporters of the southern cause. On April 18, to prevent further trouble, Governor Hicks and Mayor George William Brown of Baltimore asked President Lincoln and John W. Garrett, president of the B & O Railroad, to stop sending troops through the city of Baltimore.[36] Hicks then issued a proclamation to the people of Maryland: he wrote: "The emergency is great. The consequences of a rash step will be fearful. It is the imperative duty of every true son of Maryland to do all that can tend to

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[35] Engelbrecht, *Engelbrecht Diaries*, February 19, 1861, to May 8, 1861.
[36] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland, From the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, vol. III of III, (1879. Reprint. Hatboro, Pa.: Tradition Press, 1967), 398–403.

arrest the threatened evil," adding later "It is my intention in the future, as it has been my endeavor in the past, to preserve the people of Maryland from civil war; and I invoke the assistance of every true and loyal citizen to aid me to this end." Given Lincoln's recent call for soldiers to suppress the rebellion, Hicks also assured citizens that no Maryland troops would leave the borders of the state, unless it was in defense of Washington, and that "in a short time" the citizens of Maryland would have an opportunity "to express their devotion to the Union, or their desire to see it broken up."[37] Unfortunately, tensions were strained to the breaking point, and soldiers continued to arrive despite the governor's pleas.

Soldiers continued to travel through Baltimore on April 19. Due to varying gauges in the railroad tracks, the troops were required to march across town to the Camden station in order to proceed southward towards Washington. Baltimore Police Chief Marshal Kane received numerous reports of angry mobs along the route and citizens interfering with passage of the troops and setting up blockades on the roads and rail tracks. Unfortunately the police force was outnumbered, and Kane was unable to prevent trouble. After Pennsylvania militia units experienced trouble again that morning, the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment arrived with two thousand men and began to march towards Camden Station. Before moving out of the rail cars, officers—fearing armed resistance from the citizen mobs—distributed ammunition to the troops. As the Massachusetts soldiers proceeded along Pratt Street, civilians blocked the route and began surrounding the unit. From the mob came cheers for Jeff Davis, and Confederate flags waved in the air. Police officers attempted to clear the mob but were unsuccessful. Someone in the crowd pelted the soldiers with rocks, and supposedly a shot was fired

[37] Document 65, *The Rebellion Record*, pages 76–7.

from among the civilians. At this point a Sixth Massachusetts officer ordered the troops to fire on the crowd and move forward with bayonets fixed to try to extricate his soldiers from the escalating violence. In the end, four soldiers and twelve civilians were killed, with dozens others wounded. The Massachusetts men did make it to the other station, with the help of a police escort, although the riot was not over.[38]

The so-called Pratt Street Riot lasted into the night as some 8,000 civilians wandered the streets. City officials called a mass meeting in Monument Square that evening to plead for peace, where Mayor Brown and others appealed for an end to the riot. Police Chief Kane, Mayor Brown, and Governor Hicks desperately tried to stop additional troops from entering the city, continuing to appeal—in person and via telegraph—to President Lincoln to halt passage of soldiers through Baltimore. Governor Hicks called out the Maryland militia to restore order and asked the presidents of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, & Baltimore Railroad (S. M. Felton) and B & O Railroad (John W. Garrett) to temporarily refuse to transport troops on their lines in order to give state and city officials a chance to regain control. That night, in secret, George Brown, Thomas Hicks, and other leaders met to discuss the situation. They knew more troops would arrive, if possible, because of the threat of Rebel forces amassing in northern Virginia and endangering the national capital. Some alternative was necessary to preserve peace as far as they were concerned. Although Governor Hicks later disputed the details of the meeting reported by George Brown, claiming he did not agree to the

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[38] Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 403–408. For accounts of the riot, and the debates surrounding the events, see: Charles McHenry Howard, "Baltimore and the Crisis of 1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 41 (Dec. 1946): 257–81 (Howard was president of the Board of Police in 1861); Matthew Page Andrews, "Passage of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment through Baltimore, April 19, 1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 14 (March 1919): 60–76; Frank Towers, ed., "Military Waif: A Sidelight on the Baltimore Riot of 19 April 1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 89 (Winter 1994): 427–67; Charles W. Mitchell, "'The Whirlwind Now Gathering': Baltimore's Pratt Street Riot and the End of Maryland Secession," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 97 (Summer 2002): 203–32.

destruction of the bridges, city and state leaders decided that the best measure was to destroy the railroad bridges leading into Baltimore to ensure no additional troops arrived. This would allow them time to regain control of the city.

Arrangements were made to send several men outside the city that night and damage the rail bridges; one of the culprits was ex–Maryland Governor Enoch Louis Lowe (1851–54), an ardent pro-southern man and secessionist originally from Frederick. In fact, the necessity of the action has long been debated, and Kane's southern sympathies, as well those of Lowe and other men involved in the plot, led to the arrest of the police commissioners and suspected citizens involved in the destruction later that spring. In all five bridges were taken out of commission that night, as were the telegraph lines on two roads running parallel to the tracks, leaving President Lincoln literally cut-off by rail and communication from the North. Additional destruction was levied several days later to the bridges, apparently by another group of secessionists.[39]

News of the riot spread rapidly across the country, incensing many northerners. Reports of the trouble on April 18 were published rather factually in the *New York Times* the next day, but the actual riot created an uproar. The April 21 edition included a note to Marylanders seeking appeasement, but in firm terms. The *Times*'s "Two Words to Maryland" begins with a declaration of friendship, calling on Maryland to recall the bonds of the Constitution that united the North with the state: "...even after yesterday's proceedings, and even after Friday's corpses in the streets of Baltimore—the corpses of Northern young men treacherously murdered by sneaking cowards—is a heartfelt wish

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[39] George William Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861: A Study of the War* (Baltimore, 1887); *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880–1901): Ser. I, Vol. 2, pp. 7–21; Clark, Charles Branch. "Baltimore and the Attack on the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, April 19, 1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 56 (March 1961): 39–71.

for fraternal love." The tongue-in-cheek threat and anger, however, are made even clearer in the second "word" for Maryland: defending U.S. soldiers' right to go through Maryland at any time, the *Times* writes, "If the faction of Disunionists now rampant there, are permitted by the State to beat back a regiment, marching under the National flag...we shall send a brigade. If that should be worsted, we shall send an army. ... We hold the fate of your State in our hands."[40]

Adding to that sentiment, on the same date reports from Boston indicated that "The news from Baltimore stimulates the war feeling to a high pitch all over New-England."[41] Of course, Benjamin Butler, in command of the Massachusetts troops and stuck in Philadelphia after the riot, along with Governor John Andrew of Massachusetts, helped fan the flame of those passions. Butler wrote to Andrew on April 20, "I propose to take the Fifteen Hundred Troops to Annapolis, arriving there to-morrow about 4 o'clock, and occupy the Capital of Maryland, and thus call the state to account for the death of Massachusetts men, my friends and neighbors."[42] Andrews wrote back in approval of Butler's actions on April 23; both men wanted retaliation for the attack in Baltimore.[43] But before discussing Butler's movements in Maryland, it should be noted that the riot was met with rejoicing in the South. The Richmond *Daily Dispatch*, recounting events through reports reprinted from the Baltimore *Sun*, indicated on April 20 that "the stirring news from Baltimore yesterday aroused a perfect Vesuvius of enthusiasm in our city. The manifest hand of Providence is bringing all the Southern

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[40] *New York Times*, April 21, 1861, p. 4.
[41] *New York Times*, April 21, 1861, p. 5.
[42] Benjamin F. Butler, *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler During the Period of the Civil War*, Jessie Ames Marshall, ed., vol. 1 (Norwood, Mass., 1917), 19.
[43] Ibid., 31–2.

States into line."[44] Virginia had just seceded on April 17. The New Orleans *Daily Picayune* likewise praised Maryland, noting that Hicks had "barred the gates by which Federal troops could pass through Maryland," and the southern "ranks are closing up along the whole line."[45]

Butler did move on April 20, traveling as far south on the railroad from Pennsylvania as he could and then requisitioning ferry boats at Perryville to carry his men to Annapolis by way of the Chesapeake Bay. Governor Hicks advised Butler not to land at Annapolis, but Butler did so anyway on April 20, justifying his actions the next day in a missive to Hicks. He arrived in Annapolis in time to help convey the *U.S.S. Constitution*, with the midshipmen aboard, out into the bay away from a secessionist mob that was supposedly threatening the Naval Academy in Annapolis. The Seventh New York, under the command of Col. Marshall Lefferts, arrived the next day, having sailed from Philadelphia around the cape and up the length of Chesapeake Bay to Annapolis.

Concealing the occupation that he in fact hoped to achieve, as described to Andrews twice in a letter the day before, a much more apologetic Butler told Hicks, "Finding the ordinary means of communication cut off by the burning of Railroad bridges by a mob, I have been obliged to make this detour, and hope that your Excellency will see that from the very necessity of the case there is no cause of excitement...." That same day, however, Butler telegraphed S. M. Felton, President of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, & Baltimore Railroad and the man who assisted with finding steamers at Perryville, that Felton should return "one or two boats to Col. Dare as soon as you can" in

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[44] "All hail, Maryland" in the Richmond *Daily Dispatch*, April 20, 1861.
[45] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 19, 20, and 21, 1861; quotation is from April 20, 1861 afternoon edition, p. 1.

order for Butler's men to help "establish a daily line between Perryville & Annapolis."[46] Butler was not thinking about leaving Maryland just yet. In fact, in a letter written a few years after the war and recounting the events of April 1861, he proudly boasted that his actions in capturing Annapolis alone saved the national capital.[47]

Although in exchanges on April 22 Butler expressed his desire only to cooperate with the state government in keeping order until he could advance to Washington, Butler seized the Annapolis and Elk Ridge Railroad and set skilled mechanics in his unit on the task of repairing rails and engines damaged by secessionists in the area. Butler fully intended not to go to Washington himself but instead to hold the door open for additional Union troops to make safe passage to the capital. When Governor Hicks called the General Assembly into session on April 22, he wrote to Butler again protesting the occupation of the state capital as well as the seizure of the railroad, fearing it would interfere with the meeting of the assembly. Butler responded by claiming he would not have acted had the state government taken control of the railroad in the first place to ensure the safety of the rail property from threats by secessionist mobs. As for interfering with the meeting of the state legislature, he added, "It is difficult to see how it could be that if my troops could not pass over the Railroad one way the members of the Legislature could pass the other way." He ends the note trying to reassure Hicks that he means no interference with the state but is working "to obtain means of transportation so I can vacate the Capitol prior to the sitting of the Legislature...."[48] Governor Hicks

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[46] Butler, *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler*, 17–26; quotations from p. 22.
[47] Ibid., 24.
[48] Ibid., 28–29.

instead ordered the legislature to assemble in Frederick on April 26, where they met until May 14.[49]

Butler restored the rail connection to Washington by April 24 and was in no hurry to depart; two days later he wrote to his wife requesting that she come and live with him, reinforcing the idea on April 28 by adding, "I have a very excellent house here, well furnished, a good corps of servants, and am keeping house. Shall be here some months."[50] Butler was content with occupation on his own accord, but he was daily receiving support in that position from General Winfield Scott, General-in-Chief of the U.S. Army. Although not signed by Lincoln, much of the correspondence between the general and his subordinate state explicitly that the instructions or approval for various measures came directly from the president, with whom Scott was in daily consultation as the general made his headquarters in Washington.

It is clear from correspondence in the *Official Records* that even just days after the riot, Lincoln authorized both the arrest of the state legislature, if necessary, and the use of military force against Maryland to prevent the state from leaving the union or otherwise interfering with the war effort. He knew that necessity and recent events compelled him to intervene and prevent the state from leaving the Union in order to protect the nation's capital. On April 26 Winfield Scott wrote to Butler:

> The undersigned, General-in-Chief of the Army, has received from the President of the U. States the following instruction respecting the legislature of Maryland now about to assemble at Annapolis, viz.:
> It is "left to the Commanding General to watch and await their action, which, if it shall be to arm their people against the United States, he is to adopt the most prompt and efficient means to counteract, even if necessary to the

[49] Andrews, *History of Maryland*, 519–22.
[50] Butler, *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler*, 34, 49, and quotation p. 52.

> bombardment of their cities, and, in the extremest [sic] necessity, suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*."[51]

While actions such as these would override Maryland's professed efforts at neutrality and peace, Lincoln and his commanders knew that the nation was at war and that it was essential to prevent the capital from being surrounded by enemy territory. Lincoln was willing to take extraordinary measures to defend Washington. Indeed, throughout the war he was willing to take the necessary actions, sometimes unpopular at the time, to propel the war effort, and the nation, in the right direction—his struggle with the decision to release the Emancipation Proclamation throughout the summer of 1862 being but one example. But in the case of Maryland, it was clear what was required of federal officials. The military Department of Annapolis was created on April 27, with Butler in command, and the suspension of *habeas corpus* was expressly authorized "at any point or in the vicinity of the military line which is now used between the city of Philadelphia via Perryville, Annapolis City, and Annapolis Junction..." for twenty miles on each side of the railroad continuing to Bladensburg just outside Washington, intended to counter any "resistance" which might threaten "public safety" and hinder the movement of U.S. troops to Washington.[52]

Moreover, despite advising Butler on April 29 that with almost 10,000 troops in Washington and an open route to the North, "we are no longer under apprehensions for the safety of this City," in another missive on the same day Scott outlined his plan to capture and occupy Baltimore. The majority of federal officials and soldiers like Butler realized the necessity of controlling Maryland. It was, in fact, a full-blown military

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[51] Butler, *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler*, 43.
[52] *O.R.*, s. II, v. 1, p. 563, 567 and s. II, v. 2, p. 1; and Butler, *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler*, 51–52.

operation calling for Butler to send 250 to 500 men to reinforce Fort McHenry immediately, followed by the convergence of four separate columns of men, numbering over 12,000 soldiers, to arrive in Baltimore from Annapolis and Perryville in Maryland, as well as from York, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C. itself—from all four cardinal directions to surround and seize the city. Scott added that he requested Major Fitz John Porter, with help from Governor Andrew Curtin of Pennsylvania, to arrange for soldiers and engineers to go to Frederick and rebuild two bridges along the B & O Railroad (previously damaged by local men). This would permit the army "to use that road in taking possession of Harpers Ferry," which presumably would require stationing troops in western Maryland to defend the railroad as had been done along the lines surrounding Annapolis and Perryville, although this action is on hold at that moment. He closed with an interesting addendum: "Occupy Havre de Grace at your discretion. I think well of the proposition."[53] These planned actions, which were carried out in varying degrees in May and June, meant the U.S. army had soldiers stationed throughout a large portion of central and western Maryland, including the occupation of the state capital and the two largest cities in the state (and adding Havre de Grace just for good measure).

At General Scott's command, Butler took 1700 soldiers and occupied the Relay House along the railroad nine miles outside of Baltimore on May 6. He ordered officers to examine all freight heading west on the route (towards Virginia), seizing munitions and any supplies that could be used for war. They were authorized to arrest armed or suspicious individuals and even search personal luggage. Rail lines between Baltimore and Philadelphia were reopened May 7, re-establishing a land-based connection to Washington, and Butler occupied Baltimore on May 13. He intended to stay and was

[53] Butler, *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler*, 55–57.

willing to use all the force necessary to make that happen: he wrote to officers at Fort McHenry, "I have taken possession of Baltimore. My troops are on Federal Hill, which I can hold with the aid of my artillery. If I am attacked to-night, please open upon Monument Square with your mortars."[54] Monument Square, being the common meeting location and heart of Baltimore, was both a strategic and symbolic target.

Butler clarified his intentions in a Proclamation to the Citizens of Baltimore issued on May 14. Although he said "no loyal and well-disposed citizen will be disturbed in his lawful occupation or business" nor would "private property be interfered with by the men under my command," he required manufacturers of clothing, equipment, and munitions that could be used for war to report to his commissary-general so "that their workshops may be employed for loyal purposes" supplying his men with stores and supplies. Speaking to the grocers, he added 40,000 rations were needed and would be bought at "fair prices," but that "supplies will be drawn from the city to the full extent of its capacity, if the patriotic and loyal men choose so to furnish supplies." While this was guaranteed business for merchants, there also was little choice in accepting the customer or the price with Butler's troops occupying the city.[55]

Butler made it very clear, however, that no goods would be permitted to leave the city destined for Virginia to aid in the rebellion, nor would such sympathies be allowed to be displayed via flags, banners, or other symbolic clothing or badges. Such activities would be considered aiding the rebellion and result in the arrest of the responsible individuals. Likewise, armed men were forbidden from meeting to drill unless they were authorized by the state and properly registered in Baltimore to distinguish loyal troops

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[54] Ibid., 65–81, quotation p. 81.
[55] Ibid., 83–85.

from rebels. Despite these penalties, Butler hoped to show to the nation that Baltimore was loyal, and that he "desires to greet and treat in this part of his department all the citizens thereof as friends and brothers, having a common purpose, a common loyalty, and a common country."[56]

The next day Benjamin Butler was transferred to command at Fort Monroe in Virginia, and Brevet Major General George Cadwalader took command in the Maryland region. Scott extend the power to arrest individuals suspected or caught participating in the rebellion to Cadwalader on May 16, although arrests had already been made under Butler's authority.[57] The arrest of individuals deemed a threat to public safety, and soon thereafter those arrested for political reasons, became a critical and frequent issue in the Maryland.

One of the first arrests seems to have been a man from Richmond named Edward Grandval, who came to Maryland to spy on the number and location of troops in the area and then was to report to the editor of the Baltimore *Sun*, who would forward the information to Virginia. Grandval was captured around April 30, but soon thereafter another man named Spencer was arrested near the Relay House for telling troops that Marylanders had "'acted rightly toward the Massachusetts troops three weeks ago."[58] The most famous of the early cases, however, was that of John Merryman. Merryman was arrested on May 25 in Cockeysville, just north of Baltimore, for being in arms against the United States—he was the lieutenant in a local militia unit that espoused "secession doctrines" and that had recently been drilling in the area (facts that apparently

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[56] Ibid., quotation p. 85.
[57] Ibid., 59, 71, 85–87; *O.R.* s. I, v. 2, p. 1 and s. II, v. 1, p. 563.
[58] Butler, *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler*, 59, 71.

were not disputed by Merryman at the time of his arrest).[59] He had friends in high places, however, as Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court and fellow Maryland Roger Brooke Taney intervened on Merryman's behalf. Issuing a writ to General Cadwalader, Taney commanded that the officer appear in federal court in Baltimore, which was part of Taney's federal circuit, on the morning of May 27 with the prisoner John Merryman. Cadwalader did not appear and instead sent a subordinate to deliver a message that included his justification for ignoring the writ: "he has further to inform you that he is duly authorized by the President of the United States in such cases to suspend the writ of habeas corpus [sic] for the public safety." Although Taney balked, Cadwalader later received support from General Scott for his actions, who agreed that refusing to produce Merryman in court was in keeping with the intentions of his orders to detain, without right to *habeas corpus*, any dangerous individuals.[60]

In *Ex Parte John Merryman* Taney issued a remonstrance of Lincoln's actions. While arguing Lincoln's acts were unconstitutional, his anger at the executive almost jumps off the page:

> As the case comes before me therefore I understand that the President not only claims the right to suspend the writ of habeas corpus [sic] himself at his discretion but to delegate that discretionary power to a military officer, and to leave it to him to determine whether he will or will not obey judicial process that may be served upon him.
> No official notice has been given to the courts of justice or to the public by proclamation or otherwise that the President claimed this power and had exercised it in the manner stated in the return. And I certainly listened to it with some surprise for I had supposed it to be one of those points of constitutional law upon which there was no difference of opinion and that it was admitted on all hands

[59] *O.R.* s. II, v. 1, p. 575.
[60] *O.R.* s. II v. 1, p. 574–7, quotation p. 576.

> that the privilege of the writ could not be suspended except by act of Congress.[61]

Given that the military orders between Scott and Butler were not public documents, there was no general notice to federal or state authorities that the writ had been suspended. Marylanders were never told that they were living in a military zone subject to wartime exclusions of their liberties, including the potential to be held indefinitely without a trial. But in Merryman's case, and similar circumstances, the relatively clear threat to the federal government posed by armed and professed enemy combatants justified the need to detain the individual, particularly in times of war, even if there was not yet a specific crime committed. Lincoln effectively ignored Justice Taney's ruling; he considered suspension of *habeas corpus* part of the emergency powers delegated to the president for use in times of war, even though it was, under normal circumstances, a power expressly delegated to Congress. Congress retroactively approved Lincoln's actions, including the suspension of *habeas corpus*, later in the summer of 1861. In essence, Lincoln and the U.S. army were not going to allow Maryland to become southern—it would remain Unionist, by force if necessary.[62]

In other cases that soon arose, however, individuals who simply voiced their opinions publicly, or were accused of being southern sympathizers by a jealous neighbor, ended up facing months or years in prison with little contact with the outside world—by

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[61] *O.R.* s. II, v. 1, 578. The power to suspend the writ in times of war or rebellion is enumerated in Article I, Section 9 of the U.S. Constitution—the section pertaining to the powers of the legislative branch. Although, later in the year Congress would retroactively approve Lincoln's suspension of the writ.

[62] James McPherson summarizes the constitutionality of Lincoln's administration best when he writes Lincoln's "interpretation of the president's war powers was breathtakingly broad" but likewise "his entire presidency was a time of emergency, [and] he did many things that caused Democrats and even some Republicans to denounce his 'tyranny' and 'dictatorship.'" Thus, it can be argued that the ends justified the means given Lincoln clearly had higher national and moral obligations to defend. Likewise, that does not diminish the fact that some Marylanders suffered a great deal for simply voicing their opinions. James McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1992), 260–62, quotation from p. 262.

preventing friends and family from knowing the details, it was more difficult for attorneys to locate prisoners or file additional writs to force the government bring charges and hold a trial. While it is difficult to tell precisely how many Marylanders were arrested during the war, particularly in the first two years as federal officials attempted to control dissent within the state and some arrests are reported without names or details.[63] However, there are at least 130 individuals (including one woman) from across the state listed in the State Department's official charts. Individuals from these charts, compiled from the *Official Records*, are listed in Table 2.1. Persons were arrested for a multitude of reasons, including those who spoke or wrote against the Lincoln Administration, particularly in newspapers, to individuals who were caught smuggling goods or actively participating in the rebellion.[64]

The lists also included the Baltimore police commissioners and Mayor George Brown, who were arrested in late June, 1861, for their southern sympathies and actions during the riot (allegiances which many suspected were responsible for their inability to keep peace in Baltimore). In general, most individuals on the lists were detained from six months to over a year, with a few not being released until December 1862. Many were

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[63] An example can be found in *O.R.* s. II, v. 1, 63. Here a list of individuals recently arrested includes several Marylanders who otherwise do not reappear in the records, so there are no details on when or why they were arrested, how long they were detained, if they were offered the oath of allegiance as a condition for immediate release, or if they, like the prisoners listed specifically in the State Department's charts, were shuttled from prison to prison throughout the North. A number of arrests were also reported almost weekly in the state's papers.

[64] *O.R.* s. II, v. 2, pp. 152–6, 226–8, 232–4, 277–9, and 285. Other arrests are scattered throughout the reports of various officers, but the names do not appear again making it difficult to tell if they were detained for any length of time or if they were willing to take a loyalty oath offered by the government and then were released. Some arrests do not report names of individuals, or were they were from/arrested, further making it difficult to track individuals. It is easily probable that 200 to 300 individuals from Maryland alone appear in the series on political prisoners—which included some arrests for disloyal acts—in the *Official Records*. Other accounts of arrests can be found in: Thomas P. Lowry, *Confederate Heroines: 120 Southern Women Convicted by Union Military Justice* (Baton Rouge, 2006), 37–75; and Charles Mitchell, ed., *Maryland Voices of the Civil War*, (Baltimore, 2007).

Table 2.2

Marylanders Arrested and Detained by the State Department

Name	Residence/Arrest	Imprisonment	Reason
Abell, W.M.	Saint Mary's Co.	11/26/1861-?	unknown
Acton, Samuel G.	Anne Arundel Co.	10/4/1861-?	smuggling intelligence to VA
Alvey, Richard H.	Hagerstown, Wash. Co.	6/18/1861-1/6/1862	judicial arrest (disloyal behavior or communication with South?)
Appleton, George A.	Baltimore	9/7/1861-1/16/1862	political prisoner
Bigger, R.H.	Baltimore	10/16/1861-?	recruiting for Rebels
Brewer, J.M.	Cumberland, Allegany Co.	9/17/1861-12/22/1861	(political prisoner?)
Broadwater, S. J. M. P.	Snow Hill, Worcester Co.	11/4/1861-11/16/1861	unknown
Brown, George W.	Baltimore	9/13/1861-?	political prisoner
Carter, A.R.	Baltimore	10/12/1861-11/28/1861	political prisoner
Caulk, James T.	Baltimore	7/1/1861-7/9/1861	unknown
Cecil, E.W.	Baltimore	11/26/1861-?	unknown
Claggett, Thomas J.	Petersville, Fred. Co.	9/24/1861-?	unknown
Clayton, James	Baltimore	7/8/1861-7/16/1861	unknown
Clinton, James	Baltimore	unknown	unknown
Cohen, Judah Barrett	Allen's Fresh, Charles Co.	unknown	(correspondence and travel South)
Coleman, Charles R.	Baltimore	unknown	unknown
Coleman, John L.	Baltimore	?-2/22/1862	unknown
Corbett, Timothy	Pikesville, Baltimore Co.	?-7/9/1861	unknown
Cottrell, Edward C.	Princess Anne, Somerset Co.	11/14/1861-2/22/1862	unknown
Cremen, John	Baltimore	9/6/1861-9/7/1861	unknown
Cross, Benjamin Jackson	Seneca, Montgomery Co.	10/10/1861-?	assisted Rebels in capturing citizen
Cusick, John H.	Woodville (also listed as Charles Co.)	8/1/1861-?	prisoner of state
Dailey, Thomas	Baltimore	9/10/1861-9/17/1861	unknown
Davis, John W.	Baltimore	7/1/1861-?	unknown
Denison, Robert M.	Balt. (also listed Pikesville)	9/13/1861-?	unknown
Dennis, J.U.	Somerset Co.	9/17/1861-?	unknown
Dent, Jr., George	Pope's Creek, Charles Co.	11/16/1861-3/21/1862	communication with South; taking persons into VA
Dent, Sr., George	Pope's Creek, Charles Co.	11/16/1861-3/21/1862	communication with South; taking persons into VA
Drane, Robert	Point of Rocks, Fred. Co.	8/5/61-3/24/1862	unknown
Dundas, William Oswald	Bladensburg turnpike	11/1/1861-?	suspicious night travels; claimed to be secessionist
Durant, C.J.	Leonardtown, St. Mary's Co.	9/24/1861-?	unknown

Ellenbrook, Frederick	Baltimore	?-7/11/1861	unknown
Ellis, William J.	Baltimore	9/10/1861-9/17/1861	unknown
Fitzgerald, Michael	Baltimore	9/6/1861-9/7/1861	unknown
Fitzpatrick, Thomas C.	Baltimore	7/1861-8/19/1861; 1/25/1862-?	trying to seize steamer Saint Nicholas; trying to smuggle goods into VA
French, Charles D.	Baltimore	10/16/1861-11/26/1861	recruiting for Rebels
Gardner, Daniel	Baltimore	11/12/1861-12/12/1861	disloyal/suspicious behavior
Gatchell, William H.	Baltimore	7/1 or 8/1/1861-2/22/1861	
Glenn, William W.	Baltimore	9/15/1861-9/30/1861	Editor of the Baltimore *Exchange* (political dissent)
Gordon, J.H.	Cumberland, Allegany Co.	9/17/1861-11/1/1861	(unconditional release)
Gormley, George M.	Cedar Creek (Dorchester Co.?)	1/10/1862-3/26/1862	attempted to go South
Grady, M.J.	Baltimore	9/7/1861-12/4/1861	unknown
Gross, William	Baltimore	1/20/1862-2/22/1862	unknown
Gwynn, John R.	Baltimore	?-circa 9/1/1861	unknown
Habersham, A.W.	Annapolis	12/3/1861-?	left U.S. Navy for C.S. Navy
Hagelin, Charles M.	Baltimore	7/21/1861-10/24/1861	captained a vessel that took men to southern MD without fare (they then entered VA)
Hall, Jr., Thomas W.	Baltimore	9/12/1861-(after 4/15/1862)	unknown
Harker, James	Baltimore	?-9/17/1861	unknown
Harrison, William. G	Baltimore	9/12/1861-?	unknown
Hayden, B.L.	Saint Mary's Co.	10/22/1861-1/2/1862	disloyalty; member southern vigilance committee in MD
Hebb, John L.	Great Mills, Saint Mary's Co.	7/8/1861-7/13/1861	unknown
Heckart, John J.	Port Deposit, Cecil Co.	9/17 or 9/24/1861-11/26/1861	unknown
Higgins, Eugene	Baltimore	7/8/1861-7/26/1861	unknown
Hinks, Charles D.	Baltimore	7/1/1861-7/6/1861	unknown
Holland, R. C.	Dorchester Co.	11/4/1861-?	unknown
Howard, Charles	Baltimore	7/1/1861-?	political prisoner (president Baltimore Board of Police during riot)
Howard, Frank Key	Baltimore	9/12/1861-?	Editor of the Baltimore *Exchange* (political dissent)
Hull, Robert	Baltimore	1/31/1862-?	unknown
Jarboe, J.J.	Old Fields, Md.	2/23/1862-?	treason
Johnson, Edward (Dr.)	Baltimore	7/8/1861-?	unknown
Johnson, Henry E.	Baltimore	9/25/1861-10/9/1861	unknown
Jones, E.H.	Saint Mary's Co.	11/26/1861-?	unknown
Jones, J.L.	Balt. (also Saint Michaels)	(9/12/1861?-?)	unknown
Jones, Thomas A.	Pope's Creek, Charles Co.	10/10/1861-3/21/1862	smuggling people and arms to VA
Julius, George	Hagerstown	10/16/1861-?	forwarding recruits to C.S.A.

Kane, George P.	Baltimore	6/27/1861-?	political prinsoner (riot)
Kelly, Dennis	Baltimore	unknown	unknown
Kessler, Andrew	Jefferson, Frederick Co.	9/16/1861-12/20/1861	unknown
Kilbourn, E.G.	Pierceland, Md.	9/19/1861-?	unknown
Landing, George W.	Worcester Co.	9/24/1861-?	unknown
Leavy, John	Baltimore	9/6/1861-9/7/1861	unknown
Lucchesi, D.H.	Baltimore	9/18/1861-11/26/1861	unknown
Lynch, Andrew A.	Elkton, Cecil Co. (also Balt. Co.)	7/13/1861-1/4/1862	unknown
Lyon, Samuel H.	Baltimore	7/13/1861-(12/1862?)	no reason recorded for arrest; later exchanged at Ft. Monroe
Macgill, Charles (Dr.)	Hagerstown	10/1 or 10/5/1861-?	Maryland legislator
Martin, James	Baltimore	11/8/1861-?	unknown
Mask, Isaac G.	Baltimore	10/17/1861-1/10/1862	unknown
Maxwell, J.W.	Elkton, Cecil Co.	9/10/1861-?	unknown
May, Henry	Baltimore	9/13/1861-?	unknown
McCubbin, E.H.	Baltimore	1/20/1862-?	unknown
McKaig, Thomas J.	Cumberland, Allegany Co.	10/18/1861-10/22/1861	unknown
McKewen, William F.	Baltimore	10/15/1861-2/22/1862	clerk to Balt. Police; enlisted men; "dangerous rebel"
Means, Noble B.	Point of Rocks, Fred. Co.	3/9/1862-3/27/1862	corresponding with South
Merryman, John	Baltimore Co.	5/25/1861-?	disloyalty; taking up arms against the government
Miller, W.R.	Elkton, Cecil Co.	9/18/1861-?	unknown
Mills, B.	Freedom, Carroll Co.	9/17/1861-?	unknown
Moran, Richard F.	Baltimore	6/25/1861-7/16/1861	unknown
Mortimer, Thomas	Baltimore	11/8/1861-1/22/1862	disloyalty
Murphy, James E.	Baltimore	7/12/1861-?	unknown
Norris, Bryan O.	Pomonkey, Charles Co.	unknown	unknown
Norris, John Charles	Baltimore	8/13/1861-?	unknown
Norris, Mrs. Mary	Baltimore	3/3/1862-3/18/1862	corresponding with South in cipher (paroled on pledge of honor)
O'Brien, P.	Baltimore	1/20/1862-?	unknown
O'Keefe, William	Baltimore	?-9/7/1861	unknown
Perry, W.	Baltimore	1/20/1862-?	unknown
Pitts, Charles H.	Baltimore	9/13/1861-12/18/1861	unknown
Quinlan, Leonard G.	Baltimore	9/13/1861-11/26/1861	unknown
Rae, Robert	Baltimore	9/7/1861-11/23/1861	recruiting for Rebels
Rasin, P.F.	Kennedyville, Md (also Kent Co.)	9/17/1861-?	unknown
Rasin, Robert W.	Kent. Co. (also Balt.)	?-2/22/1862	unknown
Renwick, Robert	Baltimore	10/16/1861-2/22/1862	unknown
Russell, J.R.	Baltimore	1/20/1862-?	unknown
Salmon, William E.	New Market, Frederick Co.	9/16/1861-12/27/1861	unknown
Sangston, Lawrence	Baltimore	unknown	unknown
Scott, T. Parkin	Baltimore	9/13/1861-?	unknown
Selby, John W.	Baltimore	8/13/1861-8/16/1861	

Shaney, John	Baltimore	11/12/1861-12/12/1861	picked up in a boat on the Chesapeake Bay
Shaney, Joseph	Baltimore	(11/12/1861-12/12/1861?)	picked up in a boat on the Chesapeake Bay
Sharpe, Frederick T.	Baltimore	10/5/1861-10/6/1861	unknown
Sharpe, Samuel J	Baltimore	10/5/1861-10/6/1861	unknown
Shields, Thomas	Baltimore	9/7/1861-?	unknown
Smith, J.	Baltimore	1/20/1862-?	unknown
Steering, H.	Baltimore	1/20/1862-?	unknown
Stephens, Nathaniel	Pikesville, Baltimore Co.	6/29/1861-6/29/1861	unknown
Stovin, J.C.	Cumberland, Allegany Co.	10/16/1861-11/14/1861	unknown
Summers, D.	Baltimore	9/7 or 9/17/1861-2/12/1861	unknown
Swain, J.P.	Baltimore	1/20/1862-2/22/1862	unknown
Thomas, J. Hanson	Baltimore	9/13/1861-?	unknown
Thompson, A.	Baltimore	1/20/1862-?	unknown
Thompson, George	Baltimore	9/1/1861-11/26/1861	unknown
Tilghman, Samuel Ogle	Baltimore	7/3/1861-7/6/1861	unknown
Wade, Emmanuel C.	Baltimore	11/6/1861-11/8/1861	unknown
Wallis, S.T.	Baltimore	9/13/1861-?	Maryland legislator
Ware, Robert	Baltimore	9/10/1861-9/171861	unknown
Warfield, H.M.	Baltimore	9/12/1861-?	Maryland legislator
Weaver, I.H.	Baltimore	1/20/1862-?	unknown
Welch, Alonzo	Baltimore	7/1/1861-7/9/1861	unknown
Welmore, Harry	Baltimore	7/30/1861-8/6/1861	unknown
Wharton, J.B.	Nr. Dam No. 5, Wash. Co.	12/22/1861-?	spy; captured with weapons
Wilson, S.F.	Smithfield, Md.	8/28/1861-?	unknown
Winans, Ross	Baltimore	9/13/1861-?	suspected disloyalty

O.R., s. II, v. 2, pp. 152, 154–56, 226–8 , 232–4, 277–9, 285. Not all the separate pages for each individual are listed; these are the pages that contain the lists and general information. To locate additional information about specific prisoners, access this volume online and use the search function to find them by name at Cornell University's Making of America collection: http://dlxs2.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=moawar;cc=moawar;view=toc;subview=short;idno=waro0115.

likewise sent initially to Fort McHenry, then on to Fort Lafayette in New York harbor or Fort Warren in Boston harbor—both isolated outposts where Federal vessel was the only point of access. While not mistreated in prison, nor subject to the deplorable conditions of soldiers in camps like Andersonville, most prisoners did have little contact with family or friends and usually had to petition the government several times before they were offered the opportunity to take an oath of loyalty as a condition of their release. A few prisoners chose not to take the oath for various reasons, including because they objected to the terms of the oath or its wording (as the words often varied from person to person based on suspected or potential crimes). Some of the arrested men were released within days once they took the oath of allegiance, a few at the end of February 1862, and the rest in December of that year, never having been officially charged or going to trial.[65]

Looking at the table in detail, it becomes apparent that a significant number of individuals were from Baltimore, but a sizeable number of those arrested were also from other parts of the state. In fact, they came from all regions of the state, with the second largest concentration coming from western and central Maryland. Although the charges appear too infrequently to categorize the arrests, the release dates hint at the number of individuals who were probably accused of disloyal sentiments or activities and were, upon examination by Union authorities, found to be innocent or posed no danger and were allowed to take the oath of allegiance and return to their homes. There are also quite a number of persons who were legitimately arrested for treasonous activities.

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[65] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 vols.; Washington, 1880-1901; hereinafter *Official Records*), Ser. I, Vol. II, 7–21 and Ser. II, Vol. I, 563–748; George William Brown, *Baltimore and the Nineteenth of April, 1861: A Study of War* (Baltimore, 1887); Charles Branch Clark, "Baltimore and the Attack on the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, April 19, 1861," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 56 (March 1961): 39–71; Mitchell, *Maryland Voices*, 229–96; James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York, 1988), 289; Jean H. Baker, *Politics of Continuity: Maryland Political Parties from 1858 to 1870* (Baltimore, 1973), 58.

Perhaps the most notable arrests occurred in September 1861. The General Assembly met in late April and declared that it had no constitutional authority to vote on secession, nor would a state convention be called to do so at that time; it also passed resolutions expressing hope that both sides would continue to work towards peace—including diplomatic recognition of the Confederacy by the Lincoln Administration if necessary. The legislature was not completely silent on recent events, however, and it protested the occupation of the state by Federal forces before adjourning the special session. When the General Assembly meet again that September, thirty legislators with suspected or overt southern sympathies were arrested and imprisoned to prevent the state from even considering secession, removing all doubt as to what may or may not happen with Maryland. With enough distance in time from the riot, and an adequate number of troops to defend the capital and a significant number of soldiers in Maryland itself, Lincoln felt more assured in taking a bold move to ensure Maryland's loyalty.[66]

Other arrests of one or a few individuals at a time appear in the papers regularly throughout 1861 and 1862. Notably Judge Richard Bennett Carmichael of Easton was arrested in late May of 1862 on the charge of treason—in the fall of 1861 he opposed the government's arrests by encouraging his community on the Eastern Shore to bring court cases against the Union officers who were arresting civilians. When he resisted federal authorities, he was arrested and pulled off the bench while in the middle of hearing a case.[67] Other citizens were arrested for attempting to run contraband items to the South

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[66] *O.R.* series I, vol. 5, pp. 193–97; Manakee, *Maryland in the Civil War*, 51–6. See also: Middletown *Valley Register* September 20, 1861.

[67] Brugger, *Maryland, A Middle Temperament*, 283; *Easton Gazette* May 31, 1862, and June 7, 1862.

via the Chesapeake Bay.[68] Although some individuals were released almost immediately upon taking the oath or proving charges were false, for some Marylanders found guilty the punishment was not a prison sentence but instead banishment from the state at the nearest Confederate picket line in western Maryland or via exchange at Fort Monroe in Virginia, particularly for women caught using treasonable language or sewing items for the South—crimes deemed less dangerous.[69] In the end, however, accusations became rampant and Major General John E. Wool, in command of the Department of Virginia, eventually issues orders in the fall of 1862 that restricted arrests and detainments to situations where disloyalty or treasonable acts were first written and submitted to the local provost marshal and then were verified by at least two witnesses that swore an oath attesting to the details of the act. As Wool stated, the number of "frivolous charges" and accusations against neighbors for minor comments or actions were clogging the efficient operation of military affairs and the provost guards.[70]

That November federal officials determined not to allow anyone to vote in the gubernatorial election who had suspected allegiance to the Union. Soldiers were posted at many polling locations, and proclamations were published in placards and newspapers warning that disloyal individuals would be prevented from voting and from interfering with the election (through violence or the threat of violence).[71] Loyal citizens were encouraged to report anyone they saw participating who they knew had acted against the

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[68] *Easton Gazette* March 1 and April 5, 1862; for other general arrests see, Middletown *Valley Register* August 30, 1861. Arrests continued for speaking out against the federal government and for attempts to give aid to the enemy into 1863 and a few into1864. See: *Easton Gazette* March 14 and April 4, 1863; Middletown *Valley Register* January 16 and July 10, 1863;

[69] *Easton Gazette* May 2, 1863; Middletown *Valley Register* September 4 and December 4, 1863 and for one example of an individual released for lack of evidence, January 23, 1863.

[70] Frederick *Citizen* September 12, 1862; *Maryland Union* August 21, 1862.

[7171] Although soldiers were also stationed at the polls in Baltimore and other parts of the state, reports in the *Official Records* deal primarily with the control of polls and anti-Union sentiment in southern Maryland. See "Expedition in Lower Maryland" in *O.R.* series I, vol. 5, pp. 385–88.

federal government or aided the enemy in any way. Army officials even gave furloughs to many of the Union Maryland regiments to allow the men to return home and vote. In the end, Augustus W. Bradford of the Union Party was elected governor and a majority of Unionist candidates were sent to the General Assembly to begin the second year of the war. Some historians, notably J. Thomas Scharf, argue that election controls exercised by federal officials and soldiers encouraged the dismissal of legitimate votes by election judges and that they kept a number of citizens away from the polls.[72] Although the intent or level of intervention at the election sites is unclear, the victory of the Union candidates did set the tone for politics and elections in the state during the remainder of the war.[73]

Here it is useful to consider Maryland in the context of Lincoln's policies for other border states and territories seized early in the war. Kentucky likewise declared its neutrality, a position respected by both Union and Confederate officials until September 1861. Missouri was a difficult situation, particularly with the presence of the ever eager Union officer Nathaniel Lyon in command of the U.S. Arsenal in St. Louis. Lyon tried to prevent the seizure of weapons by pro-southern forces that were amassing outside the city by going on the offensive against them in May. In general, however, Union policy early in the war was shaped significantly by how those policies would be perceived by the border states, the Upper South, and non-slaveholding southern whites, with the ultimate goal of winning over parts of the southern population thought to be lukewarm for the southern cause.[74]

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[72] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 456–59.
[73] Harold R.Manakee, *Maryland in the Civil War*, 51, 55–6; see also, Middletown *Valley Register* November 15, 1861.
[74] Mark Grimsley, *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy Toward Southern Civilians, 1861–1865* (Cambridge, UK, 1995).

Mark Grimsley argues that from April 1861 to June 1862 Lincoln pursued policies that were "conciliatory," meaning federal forces restrained their soldiers on the ground and that confiscation and other official policies (like emancipation and receiving slaves into federal lines) were directed at appeasing white southerners and limiting the hardships they experienced at the hands of the Union armies. Lincoln hoped a "light-handed" touch would encourage white southerners to turn against the slaveholders and fire-eaters who had led them to war in the first place. The next phase of the war Grimsley calls the "pragmatic" phase, where the Union armies pursued victory and seized the needed food and supplies only as was necessary—making the South suffer so as to break morale was not yet a strategic objective. This period lasted until January of 1864, when Union policies took a turn towards "hard war" that lasted until the surrender. In this final period, Generals like William T. Sherman and Ulysses S. Grant took the war to the southern people, allocating men and resources to the specific objective of destroying property and ensuring the Confederate war effort was undermined to break the will to resist.[75]

Unfortunately, Grimsley did not examine the situation in Maryland, where his pattern does not fit the circumstances. From very early in the war President Lincoln and federal officials pursued a very hands-on and interventionist policy because that was absolutely necessary—and the reaction of Marylanders was less important than preserving the nation's capital to enable the Union to continue to wage war. Although Lincoln tried to work with all the border states (including Maryland) on gradual or even compensated emancipation policies up until he issued the Emancipation Proclamation, he set out to control the territory of Maryland and break the will of the people to resist by

[75] Ibid., passim.

arresting anyone who dissented or actively supported the southern cause. In many ways, Maryland suffered for its geographical location and historically southern identity. Even if its actions against the federal government were nominal or minor compared to the internecine warfare in places like Missouri, the very chance that Maryland could or would rebel was enough to prompt a swift federal response.

Despite measures taken by the state government, federal authorities, and Union soldiers, dissent on the Maryland homefront did arise in a variety of forms throughout the course of the war. In newspapers and in religion dissent was manifested for longer periods of time, because more overt displays of flags, public speeches against the Union or Lincoln, and physically aiding the enemy or smuggling were easier for federal soldiers to observe, track, and stop. On this internal, or at least better masked, level, parts of Maryland were in fact teeming with men and women critical of the Lincoln administration. While guerrilla warfare and violent rebellion was very limited in Maryland compared to places like Missouri, there was a significant undercurrent of intellectual and even religious forms of dissent in the period April 1861 to April 1865. These important forms of protest are infrequently highlighted in the traditional Civil War narrative, but they are part of the vocabulary of dissent in the daily experiences of civilians and are worth exploring briefly in the context of wartime politics.

The seemingly meddlesome federal policies encouraged a number of Maryland dissenters to act on their southern sympathies, including insulting and threatening Union troops, smuggling supplies southward, and spying. Well into 1862 Union troops passing through Baltimore, and towns scattered throughout the western (and supposedly Union) portions of the state, document the derisive comments made by civilians. At times, troops

were even ordered not to accept foodstuffs from civilians for fear of poisoning, a problem Butler warned of in his own correspondence with army officials.[76]

A number of citizens took their opposition an additional step by funneling provisions, ammunition, medicine, letters, and even men into Virginia via the Potomac River and the Chesapeake Bay. Union soldiers stationed along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, near the Potomac River in western Maryland, regularly reported mysterious signal lights on both sides of the river and boats hugging the shorelines at night. An expedition to Saint Mary's County in southern Maryland investigated ships that were transporting men and materiel down the Chesapeake Bay for the Confederate Army.[77] Further still, a handful of citizens served as Confederate spies during the Antietam and Gettysburg campaigns, and at least one civilian was executed for his efforts (his body was left hanging along the road in southern Frederick County as a warning).[78] While it is impossible to enumerate all the citizens who acted out dissent, and these actions will be explored in greater detail in chapter four, an estimated 22,000 to 25,000 Marylanders

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[76] *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler,* 72. See also: Middletown *Valley Register* November 27, 1863; Alan D. Gaff, *If This is War: A History of the Campaign of Bull's Run by the Wisconsin Regiment Thereafter Known as the Ragged Ass Second* (Dayton, OH, 1991), 131; Theodore Reichardt, *Diary of Battery A, First Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery. By Theodore Reichardt. Written in the field* (Providence, RI, 1865), 7.

[77] Mitchell, *Maryland Voices*, 105, 113, 133–35, 140–41, 153–59, 164, 173–74, 199–200, 209–10, 229, 297; *The General to His Lady: The Civil War Letters of William Dorsey Pender to Fanny Pender*, William W. Hassler, ed. (Chapel Hill, NC, 1965), 12–15 (Pender recruited in Baltimore for the Confederate Army through April 1861); Alfred Davenport, *Camp and Field Life of the Fifth New York Volunteer Infantry (Duryee Zouaves* (New York, 1879), 99–111 (expedition to southern Maryland); Walter A. Eames (15th Mass. Infantry) to wife, August 27, 1861 (Murray J. Smith Collection, MHI); John H. Rhodes, *The History of Battery B First Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery in the War to Preserve the Union 1861-1865* (1894; Baltimore, 1996), 47–48.

[78] Hillman Allyn Hall, W.B. Besley, Gilbert G. Wood, *History of the Sixth New York Cavalry (Second Ira Harris Guard) Second Brigade- First Division- Cavalry Corps Army of the Potomac 1861-1865 Compiled from Letters, Diaries, Recollections and Official Records by Committee on Regimental History* (Worcester, Mass., 1908), 132; William Kepler, *History of the Three Months' and Three Years Service from April 16th, 1861, to June 22d, 1864, of the Fourth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry in the War for the Union* (1886; Huntington, WV, 1992), 135; Reichardt, *Diary of Battery A*, 99; Davenport, *Camp and Field Life*, 102–3; Thomas M. Aldrich, *The History of Battery A First Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery in the War to Preserve the Union 1861–1865* (Providence, RI, 1904), 52.

fought in Confederate armies. On the Union side, an estimated 8,700 African Americans from Maryland enlisted in the United States Colored Troops, while some 46,000 white Marylanders fought for the Union armies (and another 3,900 fought in the U.S. Navy).[79]

What seems most unusual about dissent in Maryland, however, were the ways in which intellectual dissent—specifically editorial comments in the newspapers and arguments over theological rites in the Episcopal Church—became political issues and resulted in compulsory loyalty oaths, censure, and in some cases arrest and imprisonment. Although the New York *World* and *Daily News*, the Chicago *Times*, and the Columbus (Ohio) *Crisis* were sufficiently vitriolic in their attacks on the Lincoln administration, or sufficiently loose in the military information that they printed, to earn arrest warrants for their editors, the papers were only silenced by federal authorities for a matter of days.[80] In Maryland, suppression of the press began tenuously at first but grew rapidly in scope, so that by the end of war there was effectively a gag rule on all criticism of federal policies or Abraham Lincoln.

In the early months of the war John A. Dix, commanding general of the Department of Annapolis, and Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair voiced concerns over disloyal editorials in some Baltimore papers but were reluctant to act on those

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[79] A precise figure for Marylanders fighting in Confederate units is unavailable because Confederate enrollment records are sometimes missing and some individuals crossed the Potomac or fled Maryland early in the war and enrolled in the units of other southern states. These estimated figures can be found in: Harold Manakee, *Maryland in the Civil War* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1961), 108. Note that Manakee's figure of over 62,000 Marylanders in Union uniform mistakenly added the USCT and sailors figures on top of Frederick Dyer's numbers rather than realizing that they were already included. Dyer credits Maryland with an aggregate of roughly 46,600 troops, with the same figures listed above in the text for colored soldiers and sailors. Charles Branch Clark used Dyer's figures in his article on Union recruitment in Maryland, discussing each of Lincoln's calls for troops and Maryland's response (both in those drafted and those volunteering). Charles Branch Clark, "Recruitment of Union Troops in Maryland, 1861–1865," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 53 (June 1958): 153–79; Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (Des Moines, Iowa, 1908), Part I, 11, 25, 248–53.

[80] James G. Randall, "The Newspaper Problem in its Bearing upon Military Secrecy During the Civil War," *American Historical Review* 23 (Jan. 1918): 303–23.

concerns without higher authority. That support came in mid September 1861 when Secretary of War Simon Cameron ordered the arrest of Frank Key Howard and Thomas W. Hall, editors of the Baltimore *Daily Exchange* and Baltimore *South* respectively. The day before the arrests, the local postmaster informed both papers, as well as the *Daily Republican*, that they would be denied use of the mail system as part of an effort to stem the spread of secessionist literature. The editors were arrested because they printed comments about the "outrages as have been perpetrated by Lincoln and his tools," and they argued for protections against seizure of public and private property, justifying southern secession as self-defense. The editor of the *Daily Republican* was released several days later when he took an oath of allegiance, but Howard and Hall were not released until November 1862.[81]

Federal authorities hoped that these arrests would send a message to errant editors who were criticizing Lincoln as a tyrant for the military control he imposed upon Maryland, but it only temporarily dampened the hostile commentary. To get around publishing their own editorials, which would bring them under military scrutiny, Maryland editors started reprinting stories critical of federal policies from other newspapers—both northern and southern. In response, the secretary of war authorized the commanding general in Baltimore to arrest the editors and suspend the publication of journals found to contain any offending or disloyal commentaries. Shifting authority for the suppression of papers to local military officials allowed for more direct control over the newspapers, as evident in the subsequent arrests of the editors and proprietors of

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[81] Sidney T. Matthews, "Control of the Baltimore Press During the Civil War," *MHM*, 36 (June 1941), 150–55, *Daily Republican* for July 31, 1861, quoted by Matthews on p. 152. Interestingly, the Baltimore *Sun* did not report these arrests, even though its editors generally were sympathetic to the South, although later in the war the *Sun* commented on virtually all of the subsequent arrests and suspensions.

various publications over the next three years: the Baltimore *American* and *Maryland News Sheet* in 1862; the *Daily Republican* (suspended again in September 1863 for printing a poem entitled "The Southern Cross"), the *Daily Gazette* (successor to the *Maryland News Sheet*, also in Sept. 1863), and the *Catholic Mirror* (twice—in September 1863 and May 1864); and the *Evening Transcript* and *Evening Post* in 1864. In total nine papers were suppressed during the war through arrests and suspension of publication, two of which did not return to print.[82]

All publications after February 1862 were subject to intense scrutiny, and in November 1863 General Robert C. Schenck, in command in Baltimore, went so far as to forbid the newspapers in Baltimore from printing the proclamation issued by Governor Augustus Bradford regarding upcoming elections (because Schenck and Bradford disagreed over requiring all voters to take an oath of allegiance). Likewise in June 1863 Baltimore editors were told not to publish any extracts from five specific northern papers known to be critical of Lincoln, including the New York *World*, the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, and the Chicago *Times*.[83] Federal officials at the highest levels were confident enough of Maryland's loyalty by 1863 to move military units southward into Virginia following two Confederate forays that garnered little support from local citizens. Yet, strangely, the repressive measures against public criticism of the Lincoln Administration continued to strengthen each year of the war as local military officials seemed preoccupied with preventing another riot on their "watch."[84]

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[82] Ibid. See also reports of arrests for editors of the Easton *Star* and Frederick *Herald* in the Easton *Gazette* October 3, 1863, and Frederick's *Maryland Union* February 5, 1863.
[83] Matthews, "Control of Baltimore Press," 150–70; Baltimore *Sun*, Sept. 12 and 30, 1863, Nov. 11, 1863, May 19 and 24, 1864, Oct. 1, 1864, Nov. 1, 1864. See also, *Official Records*, Series II, vol. II, 778–90.
[84] Matthews, "Control of Baltimore Press," 150–70.

As with the press, a similar movement occurred in Maryland to assure loyalty among the clergy (if not by extension the laity as well) that stirred up dissent and animosity among the people. In fact, William R. Whittingham, Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of Maryland, blurred the distinction between the secular and the ecclesiastical in a way that did not occur anywhere else during the Civil War, adding to rather than repairing the divisions within his church.[85] Whittingham worked with Governors Hicks and Bradford to support pro-Union policies, and he encouraged his clergy to pray for President Lincoln and Union victory in specially modified liturgical circulars he distributed within the diocese. He went further, however, suggesting that state legislators add clergy to the list of individuals required to take loyalty oaths under proposed legislation in 1862. His use of church authority to suppress political dissenters so incensed the clergy that even moderates with little sympathy for the South voted at the diocesan convention to install several pro-southern clergy on the standing committee to ensure no priest was dismissed from the diocese for refusing to use the special prayers or follow the bishop's directives.[86]

During the secession winter Whittingham wrote to Hicks supporting the governor in his refusal to call a special session of the legislature, a letter later printed in the Baltimore *American and Commercial Advertiser*. This letter surprised and angered members of the diocese and began a long battle over spheres of religious and political authority. In May 1861 the bishop wrote to his clergy reminding them to read the prayers precisely as they were written—including the concerns for the president of the United

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[85] To the best of my knowledge, no other bishop in the Episcopal Church took such an active role in suppressing political dissenters through the church hierarchy, although I am continuing to research this topic and to look at the Catholic, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches for comparable events and figures.
[86] Nelson Waite Rightmyer, "The Church in a Border State—Maryland," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* XVII (December 1948): 411–21, especially 415–17.

States—because to omit the prayers for civil authority was to "[m]utilate...the service of the Church," an offense "liable to presentements for the violation of his ordination vow" for any cleric not adhering to proper worship rites.[87] Following the bishop's support of the Allegiance Bill in early 1862, and his proposal to include clergy, several priests in the diocese organized a resistance movement. They wrote a memorial arguing the current prayers for "peace" were predicated on federal victory in the field—both an idea counter to Christian teachings for peace and an issue that threatened to divide their home parishes—and they criticized the bishop for allowing civil authorities to interfere with church administration.[88] But the protests involved more than debates over the separation of church and state; military authorities arrested individual priests who spoke out against the government, required some to fly a national flag outside the parish school, and in at least one instance threatened the parish vestry with termination of church services if the current priest was forced into retirement and replaced with a pro-southern cleric. Whittingham supported this interference by the federal government and made no direct plea in their behalf. A number of parishes divided by political loyalties had difficulty replacing priests and vestry members who resigned, and their efforts were only hampered by the bishop's insistence on filling vacancies with loyal priests. The existing political divisions in the church were only intensified by Whittingham's actions and led several priests to oppose the authority of the bishop at every opportunity.[89]

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[87] Circular dated May 15, 1861 (Brand–Whittingham Correspondence, MS 122, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland; hereinafter Brand-Whittingham Correspodence, MHS).
[88] Letter to Whittingham from William F. Brand and six other clergy dated March 7, 1862, Brand-Whittingham Correspondence, MHS.
[89] Richard R. Duncan, "Bishop Whittingham, the Maryland Diocese, and the Civil War," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 61(Dec. 1966): 329–47. See also: William Francis Brand, *Life of William Rollinson Whittingham* (New York, 1883).

In contrast, divisions within the Methodist church over slavery were dealt with more as theological disagreements than as questions of political dissent, allowing for some leeway on differing political opinions. At its 1860 meeting of the General Conference in Buffalo, New York, the northern organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church proposed an amendment to church discipline that would have altered the existing prohibition against buying and selling slaves to a stronger statement against slaveholding in all forms. A modified version of this proposal was passed, sparking strong opposition from all three conferences containing Maryland circuits, members who saw the language as a direct attack on slaveholders in border regions. In their annual meetings each of the three conferences debated breaking ecclesiastical ties to the General Conference over this slavery question. And yet, while there was strong opposition and protest on Maryland's Eastern Shore (part of the Philadelphia Conference) and in a few parishes in southern Maryland, almost all churches remained united with the General Conference and worked within the church hierarchy to remedy the debate. In fact, by 1863 the Baltimore and East Baltimore Conferences had rescinded their former protests and affirmed their loyalty to the federal government, and the Philadelphia Conference similarly withdrew its arguments. Methodists were more willing to continue to listen to alternative proposals partly because the church hierarchy respected differing political views and worked towards Christian reconciliation.[90]

Dissent in Maryland came in many varieties, yet each form was shaped by the underlying fabric of the state's position as a border state, or transition zone, between contesting cultures and ways of life. Likewise, Lincoln's rapid intervention and a

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[90] Richard R. Duncan, "Maryland Methodists and the Civil War," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 59 (Nov. 1964): 350–68.

continued federal military presence fashioned a situation that only encouraged dissent and resentment, even among moderates. A significant number of white citizens clearly sympathized to some degree with the South and acted on those sentiments by enlisting in Confederate units or undermining the Union war effort locally on the Maryland homefront. Others opposed what they viewed as federal occupation and compulsion and simply spoke out against repressive policies. In all these instances, dissent bled across the social fabric like a colored dye. However, one spoke out at the risk of being imprisoned or fined for such activities, and the majority of Marylanders either observed a calculated silence or instead openly supported the war effort. The multi-faceted response of Marylanders will be discussed in more detail in chapter four.

Maryland was perceived by many in both the North and the South as a southern state in 1861, but partially through Lincoln's policies of repression and also through the experiences of soldiers and officials in other regions of the South, Maryland was surprisingly perceived by many as a northern state by 1865. How did that cultural re-definition occur?

Chapter Three

"Colonel! we're in God's country again!": The Soldiers' South becomes North[1]

Union and Confederate soldiers both carried with them an understanding of nationalism and sectional identity when they went off to war in 1861. These political, social, and cultural ideologies created a patriotism that sustained them through the ordeal of four long years of warfare. Those ideologies also created cultural baggage that informed virtually all their expectations and assumptions, shaping both how soldiers perceived and interacted with unfamiliar people and places in the North or South respectively. Yet during the war these cultural markers became more fluid than they had been in the tumultuous antebellum decades, enough so that in the border regions of the Upper South there appeared shifts in the imagined geographic maps of what delineated the North from the South. The initial assumptions became, through the trials of war and experience, definitive statements about the definitions of southern or northern culture, leading to a change in the mental maps of sectional geography. Somehow, at some point in the conflict, the line dividing the nation shifted. The traditional boundary between North and South—Mason and Dixon's line dating back to 1767—was gone. By 1865 the boundary of the North had itself shifted southward, moving from Mason and Dixon's hard fought concessions to the Potomac River, the southern boundary of Maryland. Ironically, this shift is one thing that Union and Confederate soldiers and officials could agree on after the war: both sides considered Maryland to be a southern state in 1861, based on the states' history and institutions, but by the end of 1865, they likewise agreed that Maryland was a northern state. How did this happen? What brought about this

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[1] Kenneth R. Martin and Ralph Linwood Snow, eds., *"I am Now a Soldier!" The Civil War Diaries of Lorenzo Vanderhoef* (Bath, Maine, 1990), 106.

change in perceived regional identity and symbolic boundaries between the North and the South, and more importantly, what were the implications of this challenge to notions of identity on an individual and a national scale?

As has been seen, Marylanders were themselves confused about their identity when the war struck, having experienced throughout the antebellum decades trends in immigration, urbanization, and industrial development that were more akin to northern models of "progress." All along, however, white Marylanders held tenaciously to their historical and cultural ties to the South, adamantly defending their peculiar version of the peculiar institution against the onslaught of anti-slavery ideologies and personal liberty laws seeping into the Old Line State from Pennsylvania and points North. Maryland existed as a half-slave, half-free state precisely because Marylanders were convinced that mixing slave labor and wage labor was not impossible—they did not seriously challenge this experiment or accept the racial and social implications of that trial until the war began. Vague anxieties over "change" that existed in the state during the 1850s were easily re-directed by the clergy and the Know-Nothing Party onto the Catholic and immigrant population, leaving the ultimate questions over slavery unaddressed. Politics and military necessity, as has been shown, created a crisis of identity for Maryland's white population and brought slavery and race to the forefront of every election and debate during the war years.

As the military actions within the state have yet to be addressed in detail, this chapter will cover briefly the major military actions within the boundaries of the state of Maryland during the Civil War. This background serves to ground the discussion of Maryland's changing identity in the context of the Union and Confederate soldiers'

experiences and observations. The soldiers were, in fact, the agents of that change, creating a new definition of Maryland's identity on the ground and then perpetuating that new sectional identity in their letters to loved ones, newspapers, and officials higher up the chain of command, leading to a national re-definition of Maryland as a northern state by the end of the war.

The riot between southern-sympathizing citizens and the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment on April 19, 1861, was an explosion of hostile sentiment that clearly justified President Lincoln's concerns over Maryland's potential imminent secession and the dangers this posed to his capital. Although Lincoln did not directly order the military occupation of Maryland to quell turmoil in the state, he readily acquiesced to the results of Benjamin Butler's swift actions—moving from Annapolis to control nearby Annapolis Junction and later into Baltimore with the seizure of Federal Hill on May 5 and May 13, 1861, respectively.[2] This was not, however, the first time U.S. soldiers had entered the state in preparation for war. Paralleling the mission of the *Star of the West* to reinforce federal property and garrison units in Charleston Harbor, federal troops were moving into Maryland as early as January 1861.

Federal troop movements into Maryland can be grouped into two waves during the late winter and spring of 1861. The first wave began on January 5, 1861, when Secretary of the Navy Isaac Toucey ordered a detachment of U.S. Marines to garrison Fort Washington, an important defensive installation along the Potomac River south of

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[2] Butler arrived off Annapolis by steamship on April 20, 1861. See U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 129 vols. (Washington, D.C, 1880–1901), Series I, 2:1–2 (hereinafter cited as *O.R.*; all references are to the first series unless otherwise noted); Daniel Carroll Toomey, *The Civil War in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1983), 11–19; E. B. Long and Barbara Long, *The Civil War Day by Day: An Almanac 1861–1865* (Garden City, NY, 1971), 62–74.

the capital. The fort was a single-story masonry structure dating back to the War of 1812 that had been extensively modified and outfitted with its first guns in the 1840s. Although eventually there were dozens of forts surrounding the capital by 1865, Fort Washington served as the only defensive fortification for the capital prior to the Civil War—excluding the miscellaneous weapons stored at the Washington Arsenal.[3] Four days after the movement of forces to Fort Washington, another detachment of Marines was sent from the Washington Naval Yard to garrison Fort McHenry in Baltimore.[4] This detachment numbered only thirty men, but it was followed by three companies of U.S. artillery rushed east from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to Fort McHenry on January 12.[5] Fort McHenry was a critical post: it controlled Baltimore's sizable port and was strategically vital for unimpeded movement of men and war materiel on the Chesapeake Bay.

The second period of significant troop movements during the spring of 1861 came in the days following Fort Sumter. Two additional companies of U.S. artillery were sent to Fort McHenry on April 18, and soldiers from the Fifth U.S. Infantry, armed with two artillery pieces, were sent to Fort Carroll on April 22. Incomplete at the time (and still today), Fort Carroll was a six-sided single-story coastal fortification located on a man-made island in the middle of the Patapsco River.[6] It is situated between the city of Baltimore and the mouth of the Patapsco on the Chesapeake Bay—forming an "outer" layer of protection to Fort McHenry's inner harbor defenses.

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[3] Toomey, *Civil War in Maryland*, 10; Angus Konstam, *American Civil War Fortifications I: Coastal Brick and Stone Forts* (Oxford, UK, 2003), 7–11, 61; National Park Service, "Fort Washington: History and Culture," http://www.nps.gov/fowa/historyculture/index.htm (accessed December 6, 2007).
[4] Toomey, *Civil War in Maryland*, 10.
[5] Eric Mills, *Chesapeake Bay in the Civil War* (Centreville, Md, 1996), 3.
[6] Toomey, *Civil War in Maryland*, 10, 14; Konstam, *Civil War Fortifications*, 61.

Despite the cut telegraph and rail lines following the Baltimore riot, both Benjamin Butler and Marshall Lefferts, in command of the Eighth Massachusetts and Seventh New York volunteers respectively, transported their units into Maryland by April 22. Butler and Lefferts were trapped at Philadelphia by damaged rail bridges, but they chose to hasten their arrival in the nation's capital by taking a water route to bypass Baltimore. On April 19 Butler negotiated with S. M. Felton, president of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad, to use the company's ferry, *Maryland*, to transport his 724 men from Perryville on the Susquehanna River to Annapolis. From there Butler could repair the lines of the Annapolis and Elkridge Railroad inland to the junction with the Washington branch of the B&O Railroad and continue by train south to Washington (a task he accomplished on April 24).

Butler arrived off the Severn River at Annapolis on April 20 and upon the advice of Captain George S. Blake, head of the United States Naval Academy, did not disembark that night. Fearing hostile civilians in Annapolis and the threat of attack from the Chesapeake Bay by Baltimore secessionists, Blake had ordered all the midshipmen to board the USS *Constitution*, which was anchored at the school for use as a training vessel. The *Maryland* helped to tow the *Constitution* out into the Severn River during the night of April 20–21, 1861. Lefferts arrived with the Seventh New York on April 22 aboard the steamer *Boston*, having gone from Philadelphia down the Atlantic Coast and through the capes of the lower Chesapeake before sailing up the Bay to Annapolis (he feared rebel gunners on the Potomac River and did not attempt to go directly to Washington by water). The *Boston* arrived in time to assist the *Maryland*, which had run aground on a mud bank while maneuvering the *Constitution* to safety away from the

shoreline. Lefferts and Butler landed their soldiers at Annapolis on April 22; three additional regiments of volunteers arrived by ship on April 23. Butler was then placed in command of the newly established Department of Annapolis on April 27, beginning Butler's occupation of central Maryland. The USS *Constitution*, towed by the USS *R. R. Cuyler*, departed on April 24 carrying the United States Naval Academy to Newport, Rhode Island, for the duration of the war.[7]

Lincoln and Union military authorities recognized the need for a stronger naval force to protect the capital and patrol the waters of the Bay following the Confederate capture of Gosport navy yard at Norfolk, Virginia, on April 20. The next day Colonel Charles Smith, a U.S. Regular, reported to Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles that he had seized four steamers along the Potomac to be outfitted for the defense of Washington. The private owners were later compensated for the seizure of their vessels, but this event interrupted the flight of ex-U.S. senators, their families, and other southerners from Maryland and DC as these ships were the primary connection from the capital to the rail lines in Virginia at Aquia Creek. Buying or taking private vessels would become common practice for the U.S. Navy early in the war: with only forty-two ships in commission, thirty of which were either in foreign ports of call or were deep-water vessels, the U.S. Navy needed to expand its collection of side-wheelers and steamers rapidly by purchasing and refitting private vessels until ships could be constructed for riverine warfare in the South.[8]

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[7] Mills, *Chesapeake Bay in the Civil War*, 23–35; Toomey, *Civil War in Maryland*, 13–17.

[8] The best example of vessels with low drafts designed for river warfare is the USS *Cairo* and the ironclad river gun boats of the City Class used along the Mississippi River. Naval History Division, *Civil War Naval Chronology 1861–1865* (Washington, 1971), I-9–I-12; McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 167, 177–9; Mary Alice Wills, *The Confederate Blockade of Washington D.C.1861–1862* (Parsons, W.V., 1975), 15–17.

On April 27 Lincoln extended the southern blockade to include Virginia and North Carolina, which allowed Union officials to deal directly with problems along the Potomac. The Potomac Flotilla was created at the beginning of May, led by Commander James H. Ward, U.S. Navy. Welles charged Ward with purchasing and fitting out ships, since he was already in New York where ships could be purchased more easily. The USS *Freeborn* with several other craft in tow arrived for duty at the Washington Naval Yard in early May. The Potomac Flotilla was tasked with keeping the waters from the southern Chesapeake to Washington (the Potomac River) open by eliminating shore-line batteries on the Virginia side and restricting blockade runners and other communications from crossing between Maryland and Virginia, especially in southern Maryland, where pro-Confederate sentiments were the strongest. The USS *Freeborn* became the flagship of the squadron, which along with the *Pawnee* and five other ships, carried the brunt of the work clearing torpedoes (Confederate mines) and shore batteries to keep the Potomac navigable for Union vessels. Given their distance from the flagship of the Atlantic Blockading Squadron, the command quickly became independent.[9]

Although Rebel guns along the Potomac remained a threat into 1862, the biggest concern for Union vessels was Mathias Point, where the Potomac took a sharp turn and funneled into a narrow channel forcing Union ships to skirt the Virginia shoreline. Confederate soldiers arrived in the area on June 10, and five days later attacked and burned the *Christina Keen* when it ran aground at the point. On June 27 the *Thomas Freeborn* shelled the area and sent a landing party to clear brush and establish a Union battery to keep the region clear of Confederates. Union sailors were attacked twice during the day by members of the 40th Virginia Volunteers and eventually were forced to

[9] Wills, *The Confederate blockade of Washington*, 15–16.

retreat to the ship, leaving behind their tools and the half-constructed breastworks. In the confusion, Commander Ward on board the *Thomas Freeborn* was mortally wounded by a Confederate sniper. This proved to be the only engagement at Mathias Point of the war, but Commander Thomas T. Craven, who replaced Ward, ordered the region kept under surveillance partly in response to reports by escaped slaves of a Confederate battery under construction. In fact, General Robert E. Lee felt Mathias Point was inconsequential, being too far from the main Confederate camp to rapidly send reinforcements, and because he felt it was no more strategic a location from which to harass Union vessels than any other bluff or outcropping along the Potomac. Commander Craven's main focus would shift later in 1861 to restricting the flow of people and supplies entering Virginia from Charles and St. Mary's Counties in Maryland. Controlling the blockade runners here proved to be a herculean task, as the multitude of tiny inlets and creative smugglers (who paddled small boats with oars covered in sheepskin) made it virtually impossible to detect or spot the smugglers by day or night.[10] Controlling blockade runners on the Chesapeake Bay proved to be just as difficult; only some twenty vessels were captured in the water of the Bay during the course of the war.[11]

Land operations in Maryland during 1861 included the continued transport of thousands of Union troops through the state en route to Washington, as well as provost guards and garrison troops to protect the vital Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (and telegraph lines to Philadelphia) all the way to the Pennsylvania line. In particular, the corridor from Washington to Baltimore, including the off-shoot of the B & O Railroad going to Annapolis, was guarded every few hundred yards by small squads of Union

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[10] Wills, *The Confederate Blockade of Washington*, 33–49.
[11] *Civil War Naval Chronology 1861–1865*, passim.

soldiers. Beyond these tasks, Union soldiers went on three minor "expeditions" within the state during 1861. The Rockville Expedition (June 10–July 7) and Colonel Charles P. Stone's "Corps of Observation" (October 1861 to February 1862) can be combined—both operations involved establishing picket lines and defenses along the Potomac River from Washington westward into Montgomery, Frederick, and Washington Counties.[12] The third movement, the "Expedition into Lower Maryland," occurred November 3–11, 1861, and involved keeping order at the polling places in Prince George's, Calvert, Charles, and St. Mary's Counties for the November 6 state election (discussed in the preceding chapter).[13]

In 1862 there were few land operations in the state until September, although the Potomac Flotilla was still dealing with the threat of Confederate batteries south of Washington along the Potomac through March.[14] The Antietam Campaign that September—with its sweeping implications for morale, the liberation of slaves via the Emancipation Proclamation, and international recognition for the Confederacy—was instrumental in shaping the course of the war not just for Maryland but for the nation. In fact, bearing directly on how Maryland was perceived by both Union and Confederate

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[12] There were multiple skirmishes along the Potomac River as Union forces established picket lines along the C & O Canal and surrounding areas. During the Rockville expedition, Stone was in charge of the 14th U.S. Infantry and charged with capturing Alexandria, which they accomplished and then returned to the Maryland Shore and traveled to Poolesville, establishing observation and picket posts along the Potomac River. These positions were later held by various volunteer units, some of whom were attached to Col. Stone's division, known as the Corps of Observation, when Stone returned to the area in October (after an absence in late summer while he was with the Army of the Shenandoah). The Corps of Observation was tasked with continuing to man the picket and observation posts along the Potomac from Montgomery County out to Washington County. Here he was instrumental in organizing the amassing troops that crossed the Potomac for the Battle of Ball's Bluff on October 21, 1861. He was later blamed for the Union failure and heavy losses, and removed from command in February. Action along the Potomac during these expeditions involved approximately a dozen skirmishes at various points along the river. *O.R.*, Series I, 2:104–23; 5:1–3.

[13] *O.R.*, Series I, 5:3; Toomey, *Civil War in Maryland,* 32.

[14] The threat along the Potomac resolved itself when General Joseph E. Johnston consolidated his forces along the Rappahannock River in March. Toomey, *The Civil War in Maryland*, 39.

soldiers, this campaign was the start of the transition in solders' minds that moved Maryland from a mental map of the South to one of the North. As will be seen, that transition continued into 1863 with the Gettysburg Campaign and was completed by Jubal Early's Raid into Maryland in 1864.

The Antietam Campaign began when Lee's Army of Northern Virginia crossed the Potomac with high hopes on September 4, 1862, singing "Maryland, My Maryland" and looking to liberate Marylanders and add them to the Confederate fold (and more importantly, to the Confederate armies). Instead, a few hundred, not thousands, of white Marylanders joined the Confederate cause, and Maryland civilians were at best luke-warm in their reception of the rough-looking, unshod Confederates. After crossing at White's Ford, Lee concentrated his forces at Frederick, sending Thomas Jonathan (Stonewall) Jackson's Corps to capture the 10,000-man Union garrison at Harpers Ferry on September 9. George McClellan moved the Army of the Potomac slowly out of Washington towards Frederick, still smarting from the loss at Second Manassas on August 29. McClellan reached the city on September 13, as the last of Lee's forces fell back towards Middletown and South Mountain to the west, hoping to use the valley to screen troop movements and renew the offensive once Harpers Ferry fell (connecting the Confederates to their supply lines in the Shenandoah Valley).

In perhaps one of the most fortuitous discoveries in all of military history, Union soldiers found a copy of Lee's orders wrapped around several cigars in a field outside of Frederick—orders that outlined the Confederate plan of action and showed Lee had divided his army, scattering them throughout Pleasant Valley from Hagerstown to Harpers Ferry. Cautious to a fault, McClellan reacted slowly and deliberately. With

superior numbers, a divided enemy separated by dozens of miles, and knowledge of the exact location of each part of Lee's army on a map, McClellan literally held Union victory in his hands, but he feared losing his men and leaving Washington vulnerable. As McClellan hesitated, Lee learned of the lost orders and rushed men to defend the major routes from Frederick over South Mountain, concentrating forces at Fox and Turner's Gaps near Boonsboro and at Crampton's Gap near Burkittsville. When McClellan inched forward the following day, Union forces encountered strong resistance. The Battle of South Mountain occurred on September 14; Union soldiers were held up near Boonsboro but broke through the Confederate line at Crampton's Gap before encountering Jackson's forces on Maryland Heights (who turned from the siege to stop the Union advance into the valley). Lee ordered his men to fall back to Sharpsburg that night, and with Jackson's successful seizure of Harpers Ferry on September 15, the stage was set for the Battle of Antietam on September 17, 1862. Still the bloodiest day in American history, the Battle of Antietam dashed Confederate hopes for renewing the offensive and cost 4,000 lives from both sides. Another 18,000 men were wounded, 2,500 of whom would later die from those wounds.[15] The battle also gave Abraham Lincoln the Union victory he needed to release the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation that September; although he had drafted the document earlier in the summer, the string of Union defeats in early

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[15] Casualty figures are from: McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 286. For accounts of the battle, see: Stephen W. Sears, *Landscape Turned Red: The Battle of Antietam* (New Haven, Conn., 1983); Joseph L. Harsh, *Taken at the Flood: Robert E. Lee and Confederate Strategy in the Maryland Campaign of 1862* (Kent, Ohio, 1999); Joseph L. Harsh, *Sounding the Shallows: A Confederate Companion for the Maryland Campaign of 1862* (Kent, Ohio, 2000); Timothy J. Reese, *Sealed with Their Lives: Battle of Crampton's Gap, Burkittsville, Maryland, September 14, 1862* (Baltimore, 1998); James McPherson, *Crossroads of Freedom: Antietam* (New York, 2002); Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *Antietam: Essays on the 1862 Maryland Campaign* (Kent, Ohio, 1989); James V. Murfin, *The Gleam of Bayonets: The Battle of Antietam and Robert E. Lee's Maryland Campaign, September 1862* (1965. Reprint: Baton Rouge, 2004); Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *The Antietam Campaign* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1999); Charles B. Dew, "How Samuel E. Pittman Validated Lee's 'Lost Orders' Prior to Antietam: A Historical Note," *Journal of Southern History* 70 (November 2004), 865–70.

1862 were an inadequate backdrop for such an important order that fundamentally changed Union war aims.

Lee retreated across the Potomac at Williamsport on September 20, 1862, and did not return to Maryland until 1863. The majority of Union forces likewise moved out of Maryland and into Northern Virginia in preparation for the spring campaigns. Then in May 1863, following his victory at Chancellorsville, Lee again decided to the take the war out of Virginia. Lee argued that an offensive into the industrial heart of the North, beginning with Pennsylvania, would accomplish several things: it would relieve the pressures of two armies on the agriculture of the Virginia countryside; it would wear down northern morale and potentially invite European recognition of the Confederacy; and Confederate armies approaching northern cities would force the withdrawal and relocation of Federal troops from around Vicksburg to defend the northern population centers of the east, improving a bleak southern situation in that key Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi River.

With those goals in mind, the lead units of Lt. General Richard Ewell's Corps from the Amry of Northern Virginia crossed the Potomac into Maryland at Williamsport on June 16, 1863. They scoured the countryside for supplies as they moved northward through Hagerstown and Washington County. Skirmishers from Ewell's corps (numbering almost 21,000) went as far as Greencastle, Pennsylvania, on June 22 before Lee crossed the Potomac at Williamsport with the remainder of the Army of Northern Virginia on June 25. Lee's goal was to unite his forces at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to be in a position to threaten Baltimore, Washington, and potentially Philadelphia (with approximately 75,000 soldiers in all three corps). Union General Joseph Hooker, fearing

that his Army of the Potomac was outnumbered, tentatively crossed the Potomac at Edwards Ferry on June 25 (with 95,000 troops total). Only some of the Union forces had traveled the short distance to Frederick by the next day; Hooker was eventually replaced by General George Meade on June 28 for his failure at Chancellorsville and a lackadaisical pursuit of Lee in Maryland.

At this point, neither army knew the position of the other. Lee's cavalry commander J.E.B. Stuart was determined to reclaim his honor, after being defeated by Union cavalry forces at Brandy Station on June 9, by riding around the Union army. Stuart captured a 125-wagon Federal supply train near Rockville, Maryland, on June 28 without realizing how close he actually was to the entire Army of the Potomac. But in placing himself behind the Union army, near Westminster, Maryland, he lost contact with Lee—a blunder of great significance, leaving Lee blind to the location of the Union army. Union and Confederate forces stumbled into each other on July 1 at a small town just across the Mason Dixon line in Pennsylvania, and the Battle of Gettysburg ensued on July 1–3, 1863.[16]

The Battle of Gettysburg was a stinging blow to the Confederacy, who saw their last hopes of international intervention fall away after the second failed offensive into northern territory (Antietam had given Great Britain and France pause in entering the war on the side of the Rebels, despite their interest in southern cotton, although international attention peaked again by the spring of 1863 following the decisive Confederate victories at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville). Likewise, followed by the loss of Vicksburg on July 4, many historians argue these events in July 1863, are the beginning of the end for

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[16] Carl Smith, *Gettysburg 1863* (Westport, Conn., 2004) 6–17; McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 323; Frances H. Kennedy, ed., *The Civil War Battlefield Guide*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1998), 206–7.

the Confederacy. For the Union, the victory at Gettysburg raised morale despite the fact that many criticized Meade for not pursuing Lee and dealing a crushing, final blow to the Army of Northern Virginia. The victory also helped Lincoln maintain support for the war on the northern homefront amid the growing peace movement and Copperhead opposition.

After suffering a major defeat, Lee was considering how best to withdraw through Maryland to the safety of Virginia on the night of July 3. Ambulances and wagons were sent down through Washington County to re-cross the Potomac at Williamsport on the night of July 3, while Lee's infantry remained on the battlefield in a position to repel a Union attack on July 4 should Meade pursue the Confederates. Meade did not remount an attack, and the remainder of the Confederate soldiers started for Maryland via the Fairfield Road on the night of July 4. Heavy rains hampered the reconnaissance parties Meade dispatched to locate Lee's lines, and he eventually determined the best strategy for Union forces to remain between Lee's Army and the capital was to stay put in Gettysburg until Lee's retreat was confirmed. Away from the immediate aftermath of the battle, Union cavalry under Maj. Gen. William French left Frederick, Maryland, and rode to Falling Waters just south of Williamsport to destroy the pontoon bridge so Lee could not cross the Potomac into Virginia there.[17]

On the morning of July 5 Meade—learning from his signal stations and the scouting parties that Lee had departed the battlefield toward Fairfield and Cashtown—divided the Union army into three forces to pursue Lee by three different routes into Maryland, hoping to keep at least one of them between Lee and Washington. They were

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[17] A. Wilson Greene, "From Gettysburg to Falling Waters: Meade's Pursuit of Lee," in Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *The Third Day at Gettysburg and Beyond* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1994), 163–4.

to rendezvous at Middletown, Maryland, on July 7. John Sedgwick went west and directly pursued Lee along the Fairfield Road, while Oliver O. Howard and Henry W. Slocum turned south on the Emmitsburg and Taneytown Roads into Maryland. Sedgwick ran into Lee's rearguard under Ewell at Fairfield Gap, but by the sixth the Confederates were progressing rapidly towards the Potomac, with one Confederate corps under James Longstreet at Hagerstown and the remaining two corps just north of the Maryland line near Waynesboro. In the efforts to reach the Potomac first and gain the advantage at key crossing points, two cavalry skirmishes occurred in Maryland during July 7–13, one series at Boonsboro and Williamsport, and at Hagerstown J.E.B. Stuart turned back an assault by Union cavalrymen under Judson Kilpatrick.[18]

On July 7 Meade established his headquarters at Frederick, and by the next day he had his army concentrated at Middletown. Lee, on the other hand, had his rearguard in Hagerstown and was already contemplating the best way to cross the swollen Potomac. From the ninth until the twelfth Meade moved slowly across South Mountain along the muddy roads, not sure if Lee would attack again while north of the Potomac. Lee established a defensive perimeter from Hagerstown to the Potomac, built a make-shift bridge at Falling Waters, and began crossing his forces into Virginia on the night of July 13. On July 14 Meade's forces went out to test the location and strength of Confederate defenses but discovered Lee was gone.[19]

With Lee's retreat to Virginia, the focus in the eastern theater centered on Virginia's Shenandoah Valley and the Fredericksburg region in early 1864. Maryland would not play a role again until June and July of 1864. That summer Lee, while

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[18] Ibid., 165–7.
[19] Ibid., 169–73. See Also: Kent Masterson Brown, *Retreat from Gettysburg: Lee, Logistics, and the Pennsylvania Campaign* (Chapel Hill, NC., 2005).

surrounded by Grant's forces at Petersburg, was determined to make another offensive northward, which became known as Jubal Early's Raid. Jubal A. Early slipped away from Confederate defenses around Petersburg and headed north towards the Shenandoah Valley in command of roughly 14,000 men from the Second Corps. Early then attacked Union forces under David Hunter in the valley, sending Union forces scurrying into West Virginia on June 18. Early continued his move northward, crossing the Potomac on July 5. Grant did not realize Early had left the Petersburg area until reports from Martinsburg and Washington reached him July 3, and then he waited for confirmation of these reports until the fifth—the very day when Early's Confederates were on the banks of the Potomac less than fifty miles from the capital. Early's orders were to threaten Washington and force Grant to dispatch troops from Petersburg to protect the city, relieving some pressure on Lee's outnumbered forces.[20]

Early's troops crossed the Potomac at Sheperdstown and marched to Hagerstown on July 6, where he demanded that the town pay $20,000 (U.S. currency not Confederate script) and supply his men with additional clothing, or face "retaliation." He received the money and clothing several hours later and led his men east towards Frederick. At Frederick, Early levied a fee of $200,000 (which the city paid). Skirmishing took place around Frederick on the seventh and eight as Union troops moved into the area from Washington's defenses. With mostly green troops, Lew Wallace, Union commander of the Middle Department, made a stand at Frederick during the battle of Monocacy on July 9, 1864. A few Union reinforcements were rushed to Frederick on July 8 to assist in slowing down Early's advance, but Wallace's main hope was to hinder Early's progress

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[20] William B. Feis, "A Union Military Intelligence Failure: Jubal Early's Raid, June 12–July 14, 1864," *Civil War History* 36 (September 1990), 209–10.

towards the capital by even a day or two, allowing the Sixth Corps to arrive from Petersburg and supplement the limited manpower and defenses of the capital. Union forces lost the Battle of Monocacy but successfully detained Early, who did not reach the outer defenses of Washington until July 11. Early's Confederates skirmished with Federal forces at Fort Stevens before withdrawing from the city, but not before they burned the home of Postmaster General Montgomery Blair. Early re-crossed the Potomac and moved towards Leesburg on July 14. This was not the end of his adventures, however, as Early circled back through Maryland and into Pennsylvania where his men burned Chambersburg on July 30 when the city refused to pay him $100,000 in gold or $500,000 in greenbacks. On the way back to Virginia, Confederate forces captured Hancock, Maryland, and levied a fee of $30,000 and 5,000 cooked rations on the town, but Union commander Brig. Gen. W.W. Averell's cavalry arrived to spare the citizens. The last of Early's forces threatened the town of Cumberland before being forced across the Potomac by Union troops.[21] This was the last foray into Maryland by Confederate forces, and many Union soldiers had been moved out of garrison duty in Maryland (moved into the Shenandoah Valley and Northern Virginia) beginning in 1862 and 1863, leaving the state relatively unoccupied in late 1864 and 1865 (compared to the number of Union forces in the state in 1861, and the massive invasion of two armies in 1862 and 1863). Yet for the soldiers these experiences in

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[21] Toomey, *The Civil War in Maryland*, 102–9, 118–23, 133–5; McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 428–9. See also: Frank E. Vandiver, *Jubal's Raid: General Early's Famous Attack on Washington in 1864* (New York, 1960); Benjamin Franklin Cooling, *Jubal Early's Raid on Washington 1864* (Baltimore, 1989); Benjamin Franklin Cooling, *Symbol, Sword, and Shield: Defending Washington during the Civil War* (Hamden, Conn., 1975); Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *The Shenandoah Valley Campaign of 1864* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2006); Jeffry D. Wert, *From Winchester to Cedar Creek: The Shenandoah Campaign of 1864* (Mechanicsburg, Penn., 1997).

Maryland—seeing the people and the places from 1861 to 1864—set the stage for the cultural redefinition of Maryland in the minds of both southern and northern soldiers.

As the fates of war dictated, Union soldiers spent more time on Maryland soil than did Confederate soldiers, making it easier to understand this transition by first examining the Union soldier's experience. Because Union troops, especially units on garrison duty, had more time to wander amid and observe their surroundings, their detailed reflections offer more illustrative views of Maryland during the war that flesh out key themes, themes that also appeared in Confederate writings.[22]

When Union soldiers crossed the Mason–Dixon line into Maryland during 1861 and early 1862, they knew they were crossing into the South. There was little difference in the minds of men from Wisconsin, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania—soldiers from all over the Union understood Maryland to be a southern state. They knew that the institution of slavery "tainted" the land, the people, and the culture. So they expected to step into degradation and filth when they came to Maryland. Slavery made Maryland "backward" and ensured its distinctiveness vis-à-vis neighbors to the North regardless of burgeoning industries or manumission trends (facts that escaped their initial observations). The worldview of northern soldiers presented the South as an immoral region, cursed by the evils of slavery, and with a society that lacked order in everything

[22] A note on sources: I have culled through the letters, diaries, and published accounts of approximately 1,300 different soldiers, including some regimental or unit histories. These accounts were written by men from numerous units who fought in, were garrisoned in, or who passed through Maryland. My sample is not an ideal representation of the numerous variables in a civil war army—ratio of officers to enlisted men, state representation as a proportion of the number of units from that state that served in the Union and Confederate Armies, the political or ethnic backgrounds of individual soldiers, etc., as James McPherson has done in *For Cause and Comrades* (New York, 1997), see specifically pages vii–xi and 179–86. However, I have tried to keep these factors in mind when selecting representative quotations in this chapter, and my sources *do* include men of all ranks and from all of the northern and southern states (except Florida). Considering the limitations of what survives the passage of time, and of those existing accounts the number of soldiers who were in Maryland and commented on the state, I believe this sample is a reasonable approximation for the values, attitudes, and experiences of Union and Confederate soldiers regarding this topic.

from buildings to government. These negative cultural markers were associated with all the slave states, but Maryland was the first slave society many of the soldiers experienced. Thus, the assumptions, received from years of reading and hearing about what the South should look like, formed the "legend" with which the Union soldiers "read" the physical landscape and culture of Maryland. This collective mental "map" of the South was explicit in the soldiers' descriptions of the southern landscape. It became, in effect, a physical and cultural legend inscribed upon an internalized map of regional geography.[23]

This collective mental map was nothing new; stereotypes and cultural markers were used to define the sections well before the nineteenth century. Rhys Isaac has depicted differences in the ways northern and southern colonies were described by visitors during the period between 1700 and 1800. Although the revolutions in politics and religion within one colony are the focus of *The Transformation of Virginia*, "a concept of social or experiential landscape" is used to analyze the colonial countryside as a method for observing those revolutionary changes in the order and culture of society.

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[23] I am using the concept of an "imagined" map in much the same way Benedict Anderson talks about nationalism as existing in "imagined communities." Individuals in the nineteenth century did not use these terms, but they clearly had an imagined sense of regional geography and what those regional distinctions meant to their own views of politics and culture as well as their own sense of national identity. I agree with Anderson's conceptualization of nationalism as a sense of identity based on a common historical and cultural heritage, symbolic language, and a shared group of ideologies (economic, religious, and political). Much of my theoretical framework for talking about nationalism and sectional identities comes from these definitions of nation and space, and from the following studies: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983; Revised edition: London, 1991). My conceptions of social and individual identity, specifically in the nineteenth-century American South, are informed by: Judith A. Howard, " Social Psychology of Identities, " *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 (2000), 367–93; Carl N. Degler, "Thesis, Antithesis, Synthesis: The South, the North, and the Nation, " *Journal of Southern History* 53 (Feb. 1987), 3–18; David R. Jansson, "Internal orientalism in America: W.J. Cash's The Mind of the South and the spatial construction of American national identity, " *Political Geography* 22 (2003), 293–316; Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1979); Daniel Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis* (Chapel Hill, 1993); John McCardell, *The Idea of a Southern Nation: Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationalism, 1830–1860* (New York, 1979); and Marvin Fisher, "The Iconology of Industrialism, 1830–60," *American Quarterly* 13 (Autumn 1961): 347–64.

"Landscape," as Isaac wrote, "is not merely measured physical terrain—it is that terrain interpreted by the eye, or one might say, experienced in life."[24] As such, when colonial observers noted how Virginia planters were "slovens in agriculture," clearing land in seemingly haphazard ways and leaving stands of wild vegetation in between the roughly constructed far-flung homes, these irregularities in the cultivation and settlement patterns stood out in comparison to New England and represented, to some observers, flaws in the southern character being manifested in physically observable ways.[25] T.H. Breen also highlighted this "Chesapeake settlement pattern" as one feature "that distinguished the people of this region from most other colonial Americans" and that, along with the socio-economic distinctions and sense of pride created by producing quality tobacco, "had obvious cultural implications" for how Virginians interacted with one another and viewed themselves in relation to the New England colonies and to England—and likewise how they were perceived by others.[26]

In other words, to an observer from London or Boston, Virginia was a society lacking civilized patterns; and this social disorder was observable in everything about the

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[24] Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill, 1982), 13. Isaac's conception of the landscape as a lens through which to understand the cultural and social structures of the past influenced my thinking for this chapter, specifically when my sources began to demonstrate that soldiers were in fact altering their definitions of regional identities in response to their experiences in these landscapes during the war—a change that redefined Maryland but, as far as the limited scholarship on this phenomenon in other armies and regions indicates, did not occur for other southern states.

[25] Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia*, 33–34.

[26] T.H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of Revolution* (Princeton, NJ, 1985), 41 (first quotation), 43 (second quotation). Likewise, Jill Lepore highlights how in places like Massachusetts during the mid-1600s "[g]radually property became the defining character of social relations, the defining character, even, of an individual's identity." (76) Orderly homes and farms bounded by neat fences, and homes nestled in villages for defensive as well as cultural reasons, delineated the boundary between civilized and savage, between Englishmen and Indians. This distinction became increasingly important as Native American-Colonist interactions led to increased warfare and accusations of "savage" behavior on the part of New England settlers filtered across the Atlantic from England. New England colonists were astutely aware of their need to identify with English patterns of civilization maintain respect abroad, an obsession that probably influenced their understandings of the southern colonies and states and certainly led them, collectively, to understand land use and settlement patterns in a fundamentally different way than southerners. Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (1998; Reprint, New York, 1999), see specifically chapter three.

physical landscape. Isaac and others have pointed out that architecture and civil society in Virginia developed in more orderly ways throughout the century as the Anglican Church and the colonial assembly exercised increasing power over the people. Interestingly, however, this negative association in the minds of many northerners of the South with a chaotic style of land cultivation, architecture, and government—with houses spread out across the land as opposed to being clustered in towns and villages, and with jagged property lines and wasteful agricultural practices—continued into the nineteenth century (and in many ways into the mid-twentieth century).

Although it is important to note that the South was not monolithic—lowcountry South Carolina and south Louisiana were different from Maryland—the fact that southern states were often perceived as one and the same by other individuals within the United States, and even internationally, is an important point too. This failure to differentiate between southern societies was increasingly the case in the North following the spread of abolitionist sentiments beginning in the 1830s. As sectionalism boiled over in Congressional debates and with issues like the annexation of Texas, tariffs, and popular sovereignty—all fundamentally arguments about the institution of slavery—both the North and the South experienced a burgeoning sense of regional solidarity, withdrawing further and further from the political middle ground.[27] The antebellum years were filled with the rhetoric of sectionalism in political speeches by men of both sections. Likewise, the mentality of opposition between the regions is visible in newspaper accounts,

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[27] See, for example: David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848–1861* (New York, 1976); Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York, 1995); McCardell, *The Idea of a Southern Nation*; William W. Freehling, *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay, 1776–1854* (New York, 1990) and *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists Triumphant, 1854–1861* (New York, 2007); Charles S. Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819–1848* (Baton Rouge, 1948); Joel H. Silbey, *Storm Over Texas: The Annexation Controversy and the Road to Civil War* (New York, 2005); and John B. Boles, *The South Through Time: A History of an American Region*, vol. 1 (third ed., Upper Saddle River, NJ, 2004).

travelogues, literary works like *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and even minstrel shows. All of these sources helped to create and perpetuate stereotypes of southern society and southern people in the North (both white and black, slave and free).

For many young northerners marching off to war in 1861, leaving their states and often their home towns for the first time in their lives, this cultural baggage was all they knew about the South. The resulting worldview was imbedded with assumptions and ideas that presented the South as an immoral region, cursed by the evils of slavery, and with a society that lacked order in everything from buildings to government. The southern people were simply uneducated and uncivilized. The South was seen as the antithesis of northern industrial progress and reform, lacking the benefits of a wage-labor system and everything that was seen as virtuous about American democracy and the Revolutionary heritage. While white southerners contested these assumptions and claimed lineage to the true ideals of the Revolutionary generation, northerners tended to disregard these arguments (if they saw coverage of them at all in northern newspapers) and associated the negative cultural markers with any state or territory where slavery existed. These prewar cultural constructions of what defined something or someone as southern formed the vocabulary with which the Union soldiers "read" Maryland's "southern" landscape.

Al Larke, an enlisted man in the Second Wisconsin Regiment, described Maryland with derision when he entered the state on June 24, 1861. As he passed through north-central Maryland by rail, through the Havre de Grace area and Baltimore, he observed: "It did not need a very keen observer to discover the contrast between this & the other States we had passed through, to discover that there was some evil influence at

work destroying the energy of the country . . . [.] There were fewer towns & villages, the farm houses looked seedy, the crops meagre [sic] and sickly[,] the people poor."[28] Larke's unit had spent recent weeks traveling by rail through the Northwest en route to Camp Curtin near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where they received their weapons before re-embarking for travel to Washington. Having just taken a "grand tour" of several northern states and cities, soldiers of the Second Wisconsin, like thousands of others soon to follow, gained a sense of their nation to compare with the South, even if the individual soldiers had never before left their county of birth. Many of these Union soldiers saw these southern patterns in the Maryland landscape. The farms were seemingly unmanaged, the towns few-and-far-between and equally disorganized and dirty, and the whole state had a feeling of economic backwardness. Accustomed to the "hum" of bustling northern cities and industries, church bells from the nearby village, and the neatly plowed fields of the farms back home, these soldiers readily saw the differences between what they defined as the North and the South.

Private Walter Eames of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment agreed with Larke. Eames thought Rockville was "the queerest old fashion place, at least one hundred years behind the times," and upon arriving in the town of Poolesville he wrote, "No farther South than this, everything shows the miserable effects of slavery. You can plainly see the want of enterprise and lack of thrift that distinguishes this section from

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[28] Al Larke and other members of the Second Wisconsin are quoted in: Alan D. Gaff, *If This is War: A History of the Campaign of Bull's Run by the Wisconsin Regiment Thereafter Known as the Ragged Ass Second* (Dayton, OH, 1991), p. 130. See similar sentiments, specifically comparing the citizens of Chicago and Baltimore, in: Hugh C. Perkins letter from Baltimore dated September 29, 1861, Hugh C. Perkins Letters (7th Wisconsin Infantry), Thomas R. Stone Collection (U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, hereinafter referred to as USAMHI). Numerous soldiers compare their reception by citizens and women in Philadelphia, York, and Harrisburg with their arrival in Baltimore: see Gaff, *If This is War*, pp. 129–30.

New England."[29] Eames was stationed along the Potomac near Poolesville in Frederick County during August and September of 1861. When not on picket duty along nearby river fords or the C&O Canal as part of General Stone's "Corps of Observation," he had ample time to wander the region and speak with the locals, later describing many of his observations and encounters in letters to his wife. Eames remarked, "The white inhabitants of this vicinity seem to be below the people of the North in almost everything. They lack information on the most common topics and appear to be without energy or ambition." He proceeded to tell of a local man who rode up to their lines "mounted on a very good horse and following him a little negro on foot carrying a small bundle in his arms." The local man, likely a plantation owner in the area, wanted the captain of the regiment to purchase part of a recently butchered lamb. Eames added sarcastically, "There was a specimen of Southern enterprise.- A man, horse and slave coming, perhaps, four or five miles to sell a quarter of a lamb."[30] This kind of entrepreneurial spirit was apparently beyond common sense for this Union soldier—a waste of time for so paltry a financial gain and prototypical of southern ignorance.

In fact, Eames is quite prolific in his Maryland commentary during the summer and fall of 1861. He found the place to be isolated from the world with strange local customs and inhabited by a set of especially dull people. Describing an encounter at a local farm house, he wrote, "The owner of this palace has between three and four hundred acres of land lives on corn bread and bacon and has less intelligence and general information than a schoolboy of ten years should possess." Eames continued, "During

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[29] Walter A. Eames, 15th Massachusetts Regt, to wife, August 27, 1861, Murray J. Smith Collection (USAMHI) for the first quotation; Walter Eames to wife, September 30, 1861, Murray J. Smith Collection (second quotation).

[30] Walter Eames to wife, September 2, 1861, Murray J. Smith Collection.

dinner, he said to me, 'Whar are you frum?' 'From Massachusetts,' said I. 'Um-m Down New Orleans way,' said he. 'No sir,' said I. 'To be sho,' said he, 'I know now, It's in Boston or New York.'"[31] And, Eames did not confine his judgment to the white population. Slaves came to the encampment to see the soldiers and to sell small baked items and fruits, allowing Eames to evaluate these individuals too. To him the female slaves "were the hardest looking specimens of humanity I ever saw, field hands and miserable, depraved, brutish creatures. The male slaves appear very much superior." Overall, however, "[t]heir language and actions were disgusting."[32] This soldier was unsparing in his disdain for the place and the people.

While Private Eames was confident this farmer was no match for a northern schoolboy, the farmer was probably more clever than the soldier realized—perhaps even collecting information to be forwarded across the Potomac by spies in the area. Around Poolesville and Edwards Ferry during this time period, Union soldiers described several night-time instances of mysterious lights in the windows of Maryland farmhouses, and signal lights opposite them on the Virginia banks of the Potomac.[33] This particular farmer could have been trying to gather information on units in the area to be sent by coded signal to Confederate pickets or observers across the river (sent by himself or someone he knew), a possibility worth keeping in mind as pro-southern support was greatest in the southern, slaveholding districts of Frederick County. Numerous letters,

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[31] Walter Eames to wife, September 25, 1861, Murray J. Smith Collection.
[32] Walter Eames to wife, September 30, 1861, Murray J. Smith Collection.
[33] See accounts of night activities and signaling in the diaries of soldiers from the First Rhode Island Light Artillery, who were stationed with the 15th Massachusetts in Poolesville during the fall and winter of 1861–1862: John H. Rhodes, *The History of Battery B First Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery in the War to Preserve the Union 1861-1865* (1894; Baltimore, 1996), pp. 30–33, 47; Thomas M. Aldrich, *The History of Battery A First Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery in the War to Preserve the Union 1861-1865* (Providence, RI, 1904), p. 52; Theodore Reichardt, *Diary of Battery A, First Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery, By Theodore Reichardt. Written in the field.* (Providence, RI, 1865), p. 30.

supplies, and even men were smuggled into the Confederacy by slipping across the Potomac here (between Williamsport and Poolesville) and elsewhere in southern and western Maryland. In the end, whether the local population was "properly" educated by New England standards is less revealing than this soldier's comments on the state. Eames demonstrates how northern militiamen and volunteers often came into Maryland with specific assumptions about the South that in turn shaped how they viewed the state. "I have heard much of the 'Sunny South' but if this [is] it, give me West Street, Fitchburg instead."[34]

And men like Larke and Eames were not alone. Private William Stone of the Nineteenth Massachusetts Infantry described a plantation near Edwards Ferry in a letter to his brother. He mentioned how soldiers as soon as they were paid often "besieged" the two local homes for food and baked goods, before admitting he too had dinner with a local family that was "regular 'secesh' and quite aristocratic," having a large home and a number of slaves. While there Stone observed the slaves doing chores like spinning yarn and selling chestnuts to the soldiers for pocket change. All these sights were foreign to him, but he was most surprised to see a young slave girl fanning her mistress with a feather fan while the master's family ate dinner, "a sight we never see at home." For him, the whole picture of people and landscape seemed amiss: "The yard was not clean and grassy as our yards are, or ought to be, but are more like a common barnyard with no signs of neatness or order about it. And the whole house had that appearance of shabbiness and inattention which is the universal characteristic of all the southern houses

[34] Walter Eames to wife, September 2, 1861, Murray J. Smith Collection.

that I have seen." Stone implies later that he interacts with the locals more out of necessity that with any genuine interest in their peculiar way of life.[35]

Men who enlisted and arrived in Maryland during 1862, or passed through the state towards the battlefields of Virginia, saw the same southern patterns as those who came in the first months of the war. Russell Tuttle, of the 107th New York Volunteer Regiment, described Annapolis in August 1862 by saying that "everything was peculiar[ly] Southern and was of course strange to me."[36] Even the roads were unacceptable for some Union soldiers. Two cavalrymen in the First Massachusetts described the roads as "very rough; and the soil, being lime-stone, caused irritation to the horses' feet," while his comrade-in-arms simply wrote, "if you want to see bad roads go from Harpers Ferry to Antietam[.]"[37] Charles Brandegee of Duryea's Zouaves combined both sentiments in describing Baltimore: "Baltimore is a miserable city and has no air of business at all. The streets are broad, houses low and made chiefly of brick. Streets badly paved and in some the water running a stream 8 feet wide in the middle and you crossed on stones stuck up edgewise."[38] Likewise, James Avery of the Fifth Michigan Cavalry in an October journal entry wrote, "We found Baltimore a dirty, nasty town with a dark threatening aspect; but no indignity was offered us. . . ."[39]

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[35] William Stone to brother, October 15, 1861, Box 39, Union folder 12, Lewis Leigh Jr. Collection, USAMHI.

[36] George Tappan, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. Russell M. Tuttle, New York Infantry* (Jefferson, NC, 2006), 19.

[37] Benjamin W. Crowninshield, *A History of the First Massachusetts Cavalry Volunteers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1891), 77 (first quotation); Robert W. Frost and Nancy D. Frost, eds., *Picket Pins and Sabers: The Civil War Letters of John Burden Weston* (Ashland, Ky., 1971), 34 (second quotation).

[38] Charles Brandegee Livingstone and Brian Pohanka, eds., *Charlie's Civil War: A Private's Trial by Fire in the 5th New York Volunteers, Duryee Zouaves, and 146th New York Volunteer Infantry* (Gettysburg, Pa., 1997), 27. Duryee is also spelled Duryea.

[39] Eric J. Wittenberg, *Under Custer's Command: The Civil War Journal of James Henry Avery* (Washington, D.C., 2000), 18.

These southern archetypes even extended to the soundscapes of Maryland. Mark M. Smith has explored the fascinating ways in which southerners and northerners used sounds (and other senses) to construct regional and racial identities that then solidified throughout the antebellum years. Smith has argued that preferences for the industrial hum of the North or the "quietude" of the southern plantation, depending on where the individual originated, grew out of a learned set of soundscapes that were infused with sectional meaning. Thus Union soldiers, as members of northern society, heard "in the hum of industry and the buzz of freedom...a society that not only was different from the South but reaffirmed their belief in the superiority of industrial, urban, free labor modernity." These "[a]ural descriptions offered a literal and metaphoric sense of the South as alien" for the soldiers; Maryland simply did not sound right.[40]

Aside from lacking economic sounds and industry, as has been mentioned, and the countless cheers for Jeff Davis and other insults hurled at the ears of Union soldiers as they passed through Baltimore, bells are of particular importance since they were symbolic of religious and civic order in both societies. Bells called people to church, alerted them to fire or other emergencies in the cities, and tolled on the hour to keep time and serve as a reminder that "all's well."[41] Walter Eames spoke vividly to this cultural marker in an 1861 letter to his wife:

> Often as I lie in my tent and become lost in thoughts of the time when Sunday evening always found me at your side, I start up with the fancy that I hear the church bells ringing for the evening service as they used to do at home. But we never hear the sound of church bells here....We are not farther from the town than from your father's house to the

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[40] Mark M. Smith, *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, 2001), 3 (first quotation), 2 (second quotation). See also: Mark M. Smith, *How Race is Made: Slavery, Segregation, and the Senses* (Chapel Hill, 2006).

[41] Smith, *Listening*, 35–39, 73–77, 55–58, 86–88, 95–96, 109-13.

> stone shed, and yet, for all the signs of life we might as well be in a wilderness.[42]

After his mordant critique of the Poolesville region, one is surprised to see the softer side of Private Eames. Yet it is worth unpacking these few phrases because they reveal much about perceptions of the South. The absence of church bells illustrates how the landscape failed in yet another way to pass muster for this soldier—it lacked the sounds of civic and religious order. His use of the word *wilderness* adds further meaning to the description, since religious imagery infused the nineteenth-century lexicon with connotations long since forgotten in American parlance. Someone reading his words back home knew immediately that he perceived Maryland to be an unholy land without God.[43] As will be seen, Maryland in fact did not lack industry, bells, or religion; Union soldiers in many ways simply overlooked these features, or experienced selective sight and hearing in 1861 and early 1862, because they were attuned to different cultural frequencies.

The culture shock between North and South was especially evident for soldiers like Larke, Eames, and Tuttle who had recently enlisted, making Maryland their first experience in the South. This contrast—in climate, architecture, agriculture, society, culture, and people—was often sharpened by the soldier's transportation towards the "war zone." Railroads moved them rapidly from pastoral villages onward through the "modern" cities of Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia before depositing them in central Maryland. The speed with which the geography and climate changed afforded soldiers little time to adjust their bodies or their patterns of thought. Union soldiers, not

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[42] Walter Eames to wife, September 15, 1861, Murray J. Smith Collection.

[43] Steven E. Woodworth, *While God is Marching On: The Religious World of Civil War Soldiers* (Lawrence, Kans., 2001); Randall Miller, Harry S. Stout, and Charles Reagan Wilson, eds., *Religion and the American Civil War* (New York, 1998); Mark A. Noll, *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2006); Harry S. Stout, *Upon the Altar of the Nation: A Moral History of the Civil War* (New York, 2006).

yet witnesses to the vast plantations and evils of slavery on a larger scale in tidewater Virginia or in the Deep South (or even Maryland's Eastern Shore at this point), saw Maryland's southern characteristics highlighted most vividly by the cultural maps and stereotypes they carried with them.

This did not mean, however, that veteran soldiers saw Maryland as "northern" in their experiences of the state's culture, people, and physical landscapes, because they too carried the same cultural understanding of what "looked" and "was" southern. Instead, veteran Union soldiers, like Brandegee and the men of the First Massachusetts Cavalry quoted above, recognized Maryland's southern identity but attenuated this perception by their experiences in Virginia. This is an important distinction, as those soldiers who had "seen the elephant" of combat naturally began to question their own identities as well as the definition of the enemy and justifications for shooting other men. In Virginia, Union veterans had been shot at by Confederate troops, they had seen plantations around Fort Monroe and along the James River that were far larger—in scale and numbers of slaves—than ones they found in central Maryland, and they had experienced the fear of living in hostile country, anticipating falling shells and bullets at any moment (some even as prisoners of war after the battles of First Manassas and Ball's Bluff before being exchanged). In light of these experiences, Maryland seemed more ordered as a society compared to the battlefields of Virginia, even if during 1861 and 1862 it was still considered southern. This distinction in how new recruits and veteran soldiers described Maryland is a difference of degree and not a disagreement over the core regional identity. Well into August and September of 1862 veteran Union soldiers and green soldiers both

write about the state and engaged with the citizens as if Maryland was southern, enemy territory.

In fact, James Avery's comment "but no indignity was offered us. . ." brings out a fundamental theme in Union soldiers' diaries and letters throughout 1861 and 1862. Something beyond plow techniques and paved roads made Maryland southern, even if only in perception, and this was a theme on which recruits and veterans agreed. Maryland was dangerous. The state as a whole, and especially the cities of Baltimore and Annapolis, were seen as a "hotbed of treason."[44] The sensationalized accounts of the April 19 riot were so widespread in newspapers across the country that half the soldiers coming into or through Maryland during 1861 and 1862 mention the event explicitly in some form in their letters, diaries, and journals. They were not only aware of the attack on the Sixth Massachusetts, they in fact fully expected a similar or worse fate for themselves upon crossing the Mason–Dixon line. Expecting the worst from Marylanders, who from all accounts seemed to be southern-sympathizing zealots, was an anxiety on almost every soldier's mind, even those soldiers most enthusiastic for a fight.

John Henry Rhodes, a twenty-year-old carpenter from Rhode Island, passed through Baltimore on August 15, 1861. Arriving by rail from Wilmington, "[w]hen within a few miles of Baltimore, we were all aroused, and ordered to buckle on our side-arms and be in readiness to leave the cars at a moment's notice. The fate of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment and their reception were fresh in our minds."[45] Exactly a year later, Russell Tuttle, a New York volunteer and recent graduate of Rochester College, expressed a similar sentiment: "How emotional it was to see all the places I had so often

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[44] Michael E. Stevens, ed., *As if it Were Glory: Robert Beecham's Civil War from the Iron Brigade to the Black Regiments* (Madison, Wisc., 1998), 3–4.
[45] Rhodes, *The History of Battery B First Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery*, 11.

read of, the Relay House, Annapolis Junction, the Long Bridge at Washington, etc. . . ."[46] Henry Young, an infantryman from the Second Rhode Island, did not even feel compelled to explain the anxiety he felt to his mother in a June 1861 letter, the danger was so obvious even for civilians: ". . .we heard the welcome cry of all aboard and we was on our way once more, not to a place which bears a very good name I can tell You, as You will know when I tell You it was Baltimore. We had got our Catri[d]ges for the gun the night before and all the boys prayed for was a chance to use them . . . ."[47] Even veterans returning from the Peninsula Campaign in 1862 felt the same dangers and were glad the guns of Federal Hill and Fort McHenry were trained on the city of Baltimore to keep the people in line.[48]

Fears of civilian violence were so prevalent that loading weapons and distributing ammunition prior to crossing the Mason–Dixon line was a common order. Robert Beecham, a private in the Second Wisconsin, wrote, "[w]hen we marched through Baltimore, we loaded our pieces and fixed bayonets, as a precautionary measure."[49] William Ray of the famed Iron Brigade, the Seventh Wisconsin, agreed, "We have loaded our guns to go through Baltimore."[50] Members of the Fourth Michigan Infantry, encamped for several days at Harrisburg, were even "drilled in the art of street fighting,

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[46] Tappan, ed., *The Civil War Diary of Lt. Russell M. Tuttle*, 19.
[47] Henry H. Young to mother, June 22, 1861, Maj. Henry H. Young Letters 1861–1865, Civil War Miscellaneous Collection (USAMHI).
[48] Alfred Davenport, *Camp and Field Life of the Fifth New York Volunteer Infantry* (New York, 1879), 91; Robert W. and Nancy D. Frost, eds., *Picket Pins and Sabers*, 25.
[49] Stevens, ed., *As if it Were Glory*, 3–4. See also Gaff, *If This is War*, 129–30.
[50] Lance Herdegen and Sherry Murphy, eds., *Four Years With the Iron Brigade: The Civil War Journals of William R. Ray, Co. F., Seventh Wisconsin Infantry* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002), 5. See also, Thomas M. Aldrich, *The History of Battery A First Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery in the War to Preserve the Union 1861-1865* (Providence, RI, 1904), 6; and Robert Hunt Rhodes, ed., *All for the Union: The Civil War Diary and Letters of Elisha Hunt Rhodes* (1885; New York, 1991), 19–20; Charles W. Boyce, *A Brief History of the Twenty-eighth Regiment New York State Volunteers...* (Buffalo, NY, 1896), 15.

expecting a collision at Baltimore."[51] A handful of soldiers actually hoped "for a muss" with civilians: this expressed desire on the part of Yankees to "go 'through Baltimore'" was popular enough to be serialized as letterhead for the soldiers, including a catchy rhyme making allusions to hanging Jefferson Davis (see Figure 3).[52]

Moreover, troops had to worry about being poisoned by the civilians. "'We were hungry and thirsty, but were not permitted to receive water or food from the citizens, and were guarded by the police the whole time.'"[53] Another soldier from the Twenty-first New York described "[a] few ill-looking fellows offered us oranges and other fruits, but having been cautioned against eating anything which might be poisoned, we declined their proffers, which were made ungraciously...." He added, "The loyalty of the darkeys, however, was unquestionable.... In all these black faces suppressed exultation was visible, and they would bring us their offerings of refreshments and tell us how glad they were to see us."[54] Many of these prohibitions were for Baltimore specifically, although they made soldiers leery of any white Marylander for a time.

By July 1861 soldiers in Baltimore had noticed that physical attacks from bricks, rocks, and other missiles were now rare, although the frequent verbal insults and hurrahs for the Confederacy continued.[55] A more transparent shift, however, had appeared in the

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[51] Orvey S. Barrett, *Reminiscences, Incidents, Battles, Marches and Camp Life of the Old 4th Michigan Infantry in War and Rebellion, 1861 to 1864* (Detriot, Mich., 1888), 4.
[52] Gaff, *If this is War*, 131 (first quotation), William Swinton, *History of the Seventh Regiment, National Guard, State of New York, During the War of the Rebellion...*(New York, 1870), 48 (second quotation).
[53] Gaff, *If this is War*, 131. See also: Reichardt, *Diary of Battery A, First Regiment Rhode Island Artillery*, 7.
[54] J. Harrison Mills, *Chronicles of the Twenty-first Regiment New York State Volunteers...* (1867; Reprint, Buffalo, NY, 1887), 74.
[55] For instance, see: Rhodes, *The History of Battery B First Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery*, 11; Stevens, ed., *As if it Were Glory*, 3–4; Reichardt, *Diary of Battery A, First Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery*, 7; Gaff, *If This is War*, 133.

Figure 3

Union Letterhead

From Sayre Ennis to Father, May 29 [1861], Box 4, Book 16, Number 3, Lewis Leigh Collection (USAMHI).

civilian behavior by early 1862. Union troops were surprised at the mix of sympathies that they encountered in Baltimore and other cities, including a growing number of Union voices. Charles Brandegee illustrated this change in a letter he wrote home in January 1862: "The people of Balt. are generally pretty civil and think a great deal of this regt [sic] although some of the ladies hold their dresses so as not to touch 'those nasty union soldiers.'" The following week other local women showed a slightly different opinion: "We have a flag presentation here on Thursday. The Ladies of Baltimore will give a garrison flag 14 ft. long on that occasion."[56] Sentiments in the city were clearly mixed from the start, but pro-Union men and women felt a little more at ease in voicing those opinions. Later in the summer Russell Tuttle experienced even more Unionist support despite the late hour of the night. "Our march through Baltimore was splendid. We were astonished at the enthusiastic reception that met us." He continued, "Our march . . . was one succession of cheers" and "[a]t the Soldier's Home we were given a fine supper at the expense of the loyal Baltimoreans."[57] Another soldier commented, "Our march was by gas light and frequently a window would be raised and the flag of our country waived from it."[58]

Several soldiers attempted to account for this change in Baltimore's behavior, attributing it to an armed repression by Union forces or an attempt by the citizens to mask their true beliefs. John Weston wrote to his family, "this last week there has been more than 8,000 troops landed here and in Baltimore and the Baltimorans [sic] don't dare to

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[56] Livingstone and Pohanka, *Charlie's Civil War*, 9–10 (first quotation), 14 (second quotation).
[57] Tappan, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. Russell M. Tuttle*, 18–19.
[58] Edward Marcus, *A New Canaan Private in the Civil War: Letters of Justus M. Silliman, 17th Connecticut Volunteers* (New Canaan, Conn., 1984). See also: James H. Clark, ed., *The Iron Hearted Regiment, being an account of the Battles, Marches and Gallant Deeds performed by the 115th Regiment N.Y. Vols.* ...(Albany, NY, 1865), 3–4; and Samuel B. Pettengill, *The College Cavaliers. A Sketch of the Service of a Company of College Students in the Union Army in 1862* (Chicago, 1883), 25.

touch them[.] they all turned around to union men now or the secessionist do not dare to say a word[.]" He added several weeks later, "it is the fort guns and troops that keeps them down...."[59] Joseph Elliott, the quartermaster for the Seventy-first Pennsylvania, detailed squads of soldiers going out into the city to capture muskets and other weapons and confine them to Fort McHenry and federal control, which had an obvious effect on the potential for anti-Union activities.[60] Another soldier wrote, "the streets of the city, were thronged with people, who showed a great deal of respect, either through fear or patriotism."[61] Similarly, Rockville was kept in order through martial law that imposed curfews on the citizens.[62] Most of these comments were made during the summer of 1861, although other soldiers mentioned drilling in the streets of Baltimore in 1862 and regular marches between Fort Federal Hill and Fort McHenry as part of their routine—another way a federal show of force was still in effect in early 1862 to remind citizens what the cost would be for rebellious behavior.[63]

Yet other sections of the state started to look different as well. There were a small number of veterans from campaigns in Virginia and around Fortress Monroe who thought sections of Maryland were a little more "civilized" than they initially seemed as early as mid-1862. Going through Rockville towards Frederick, Francis Donaldson of the Seventy-first Pennsylvania noted, "[t]his was a glorious march through a glorious civilized country, at least the cultivated fields and well kept towns along the route told us that war's rude blast had not yet swept over this portion of the country." In Seneca Mills he saw industry in action, the "Great Flouring Mill in full operation, the workingmen

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[59] Frost and Frost, eds., *Picket Pins and Sabers*, 24 (first quotation), 25 (second quotation).
[60] Joseph P. Elliott Diary, Civil War Miscellaneous Collection (USAMHI).
[61] Davenport, *Camp Life and Field Life*, 99–100.
[62] Walter A. Eames, letter to his wife, August 27, 1861, Murray J. Smith Collection.
[63] Livingstone and Pohanka, *Charlie's Civil War*, 16, 32, 34.

coming to the open door ways of each floor in the front of the building" to see the Union troops pass.[64] Another veteran thought the blacksmith shops, hotel, and stores gave Poolesville "the appearance of a thrifty little place."[65] Words like "thrifty" and "civilized" appear in a number of accounts during the late fall months. One man in the First Rhode Island Light Artillery went so far as to write, "[t]his section of Maryland is one of the finest in the state; in fact, it was a paradise compared to any we had yet seen."[66] Here again biblical imagery of Eden is utilized to describe the land, while another soldier experienced the hum of industry firsthand in what was once enemy territory. The war was clearly starting to challenge the cultural assumptions troops brought with them to war, culminating in new understandings of the definition of "southern" society.

The true turning point for Maryland's sectional identity came in August and September of 1862. Two things changed Union solders' minds about Maryland: becoming a veteran soldier with experiences outside the state's borders, and the behavior of Maryland citizens, especially during and after the Antietam campaign. Dangers in Baltimore and Annapolis seemed diminished, with southern sympathizers no longer outspoken and anyone suspected of disloyalty controlled by the federal presence in the area. Additionally, troops began to encounter citizens from areas to the west that were more firmly Unionist—although not entirely by any means, as there were still pockets of strong southern sympathies in the western counties.

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[64] J. Gregory Acken, ed., *Inside the Army of the Potomac: The Civil War Experience of Captain Francis Adams Donaldson* (Mechanicsburg, Penn., 1998), 27.
[65] Rhodes, *The History of Battery B First Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery*, 28. See also: Charles F. Morse, *Letters Written During the Civil War 1861–1865* (Boston, 1898), 33; Aldrich, *The History of Battery A First Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery*, 34.
[66] Aldrich, *The History of Battery A First Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery*, 40.

As Reid Mitchell has described in *Civil War Soldiers*, Union soldiers feared guerilla action by civilians far more than battle because the irregulars could attack anywhere and slip back into the populace unnoticed.[67] Early in the war, inexperienced troops saw themselves as surrounded by a "foreign" people and culture in Maryland, heightened by the fact that citizens were still attacking telegraph and rail lines between Baltimore and Washington. The dangers of these ghost-like warriors seemed all too apparent. But, as these recruits became veterans of combat in Virginia, they realized that Maryland, despite its "southern-ness," was still more familiar—familiar compared with the northern culture they understood—and more secure than Virginia. Mitchell's is the rare study that analyzed how soldiers viewed the landscape of the South, and only in one chapter of the book. He argues that federal soldiers viewed the South with "cultural contempt," in the end allowing them to welcome a destructive war that would remake and redeem the South.[68] While federals may not have changed their minds in regards to the whole South, as Mitchell contends, especially in the Deep South under William T. Sherman's command, they *did* change their minds—or at least mollified their animosity—toward Maryland.

Indeed, things had settled down enough in Baltimore for the members of the Fifth New York Zouaves to attend a "grand ball" in the city on February 24, 1862, and perform a bayonet drill for the mayor, city council, General Dix, and many of Baltimore's finest citizens (the Unionist ones at least). Later in March the Fifth New York held dramatic

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[67] Reid Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers* (New York, 1988), 132–33.
[68] Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 91 (first quotation), 107 (second quotation).

and vocal performances at Fort McHenry that were open to the public.[69] Apparently there was culture and refinement in the city after all.

Still, soldiers noticed the greatest changes in the landscape and in civilian behavior when they came through Maryland during the Antietam campaign. This was, for many of the 80,000 Union veterans who came north with General George McClellan, their first extended exposure to Maryland aside from a brief passage through the state earlier.[70] They were often surprised by the warm welcome they received, specifically in Frederick and Washington Counties: "[t]here were more Union flags displayed in the town [Frederick] than I have seen since I left Philad[elphi]a."[71] Another exclaimed, "The people seemed frantic with joy..." to have Union troops in their towns following the brief encounter with Confederates under Lee.[72] Moreover, members of the 106th Pennsylvania Infantry saw "the whole population turning out to cheer us on our way, men giving ice-water and milk to all who were thirsty, and the women and children supplying us with pies, cakes and bread, waving their handkerchiefs and flags as we passed...."[73] This type of outpouring of support and friendliness challenged the veteran soldiers' perceptions of Maryland as a dangerous state full of secessionists. Oliver Wilcox Norton thought that the "[p]retty villages are frequent, and pretty girls more so, and instead of gazing at passing soldiers with scorn and contempt, they were always ready with a pleasant word

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[69] Davenport, *Camp Life and Field Life*, 144; Livingstone and Pohanka, *Charlie's Civil War*, 39.
[70] For estimates on the size of McClellan's forces, see: McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 280.
[71] Catherine H. Vanderslice, *The Civil War Letters of George Washington Beidelman* (New York, 1978), 99–100.
[72] Hillman Allyn Hall, W. B. Besley, Gilbert G. Wood, *History of the Sixth New York Cavalry (Second Ira Harris Guard) Second Brigade- First Division- Cavalry Corps Army of the Potomac 1861-1865 Compiled from Letters, Diaries, Recollections and Official Records by Committee on Regimental History.* (Worcester, Mass. 1908), 58–59.
[73] Joseph R. C. Ward, *History of the One Hundred and Sixth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers 2d Brigade, 2d Division, 2d Corps 1861–1865* (Philadelphia, 1906), 96–97.

and a glass of water."[74] Even in southern Frederick County near Sandy Hook (and amid several plantations), Union soldiers found merciful civilians and Union flags. "The stars and stripes displayed from a window, suddenly attracted our attention and all quickly forgot the agonies of thirst; for it was an unusual thing to behold the American flag hung out in those parts. ...As each company approached the flag...one continued huzza[h] rent the air, until the last of the 12,000 had marched by." An older woman living at the home had two younger women with her; the two women "went half a mile with two pails each, and brought pure cold water, which might have flowed from a crystal fountain. 'God bless you ladies....'"[75] Citizens were friendly *and* easy on the eyes—quite a different image painted by the soldiers' words than previously.

Other features of the landscape became more noticeable, giving topographical relief to the previously flat mental map and helping to change how the soldiers understood the region. "Frederick City is not only loyal but beautiful," wrote Charles Johnson, "as we could see in our first glimpse of its picturesque spires piercing the blue background formed by the Catoctin Mountains, and the white houses nestled lovingly in the valley beneath us."[76] Westminster in Carroll County was also a "pretty place." Wilbur Fisk thought "[t]he streets and buildings had more of a thrifty appearance than

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[74] Oliver Wilcox Norton, *Army Letters 1861–1865* (Chicago, 1903), 119. See also: Acken, ed., *Inside the Army of the Potomac*, 148–9; Edward Schweitzer Diary, September 13, 1862, Edward E. Schweitzer Civil War Diaries and Correspondence, Civil War Times Illustrated Collection (USAMHI); Aldrich, *The History of Battery A First Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery*, 133; Gilbert Frederick, *The Story of a Regiment being A Record of the Military Services of the Fifty-Seventh New York State Volunteer Infantry in the War of the Rebellion 1861-1865* (Chicago, 1895), 82–3; John Michael Priest, ed., *16th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry by Sergeant William H. Relyea* (Shippensburg, Penn., 2002), 18; John D. Vautier, *History of the 88th Pennsylvania Volunteers in the War for the Union, 1861–1865* (Philadelphia, Penn., 1894), 71; Charles F. Johnson, *The Long Roll, Being a Journal of the Civil War as set down during the years 1861–1863*...(East Aurora, NY, 1911), 182; Amos M. Judson, *History of the Eighty-Third Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers* (1865; reprinted: Dayton, Ohio, 1986), 91; Mary Warner Thomas and Richard A. Sauers, eds, *The Civil War Letters of First Lieutenant James B. Thomas, Adjutant, 107th Pennsylvania Volunteers* (Baltimore, 1995), 93, 96; Tappan, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. Russell M. Tuttle*, 36.

[75] Clark, *The Iron Hearted Development*, 27.

[76] Charles F. Johnson, *The Long Roll*, 182.

most of the large Maryland towns that I have seen. It was almost equal to our northern villages."[77] Boonsboro along the border of Washington and Frederick Counties appeared to be a "thriving village," and Rockville was a "smart little village and is the capital of Montgomery Co. ...It has a court house, jail, and I believe several churches...." Captain Francis Donaldson went on to describe Frederick as "a beautiful place with stone and brick houses, paved side walks, and straight streets, a court house, of course, 8 or 10 churches," and although he was not able to see it in person on his passage through the city, "'a college of considerable reputation [Frederick Female Academy].'"[78] Beyond all the trappings of the cities and towns, the farms were impressive: according to one Union surgeon who spent a good deal of time in Sharpsburg following the battle, "the whole country on and about the field [Antietam] is as thickly settled with wealthy, industrious farmers."[79]

Here Union soldiers were in fact cataloging the details of the landscape and describing the scene in terms of northern cultural patterns. They no longer described the landscape in terms of broad, expansive farmland and open space—implying a wild and untamed region—but instead frequently mentioned "cultivated" fields, "beautiful" land, and "little villages" that dotted the landscape. Furthermore, these villages were "thrifty," "smart," "thriving," and in some instances described as flat out "civilized."[80] These

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[77] Emil and Ruth Rosenblatt, eds., *Hard Marching Everyday: The Civil War Letters of Private Wilbur Fisk, 1861–1865* (Lawrence, Kans., 1992), 114.
[78] Acken, ed., *Inside the Army of the Potomac*, 121, 118, 119–20.
[79] Timothy C. Sawyer, Betty Sawyer, and Merrill C. Sawyer, transcribers, *Letters from a Civil War Surgeon: The Letters of Dr. William Child of the Fifth New Hampshire Volunteers* (Solon, Maine, 2001), 37.
[80] In addition to examples given earlier in this chapter, see also: Vanderslice, ed., *The Civil War Letters of George Washington Beidelman*, 99–100; Joseph S. C. Taber Diary, Civil War Times Illustrated Collection, Second Series (USAMHI); Aldrich, *The History of Battery A First Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery*, 133; Rhodes, *The History of Battery B First Rhode Island Light Artillery*, 120; Sawyer et. Al, *Letters from a Civil War Surgeon*, 37; Acken, ed, *Inside the Army of the Potomac*, 119–20, 127.

white-washed houses, jails, courthouses, stone homes, and neatly paved streets and sidewalks all were features of Maryland listed alongside the friendly Unionists population as being positive attributes of the region. The language of Union soldiers now emphasized the closeness of people and the orderliness of the society, casting a glow of civilization on the landscape that now mirrored the industrious North. Maryland seemed to have become downright northern.

This shifting of the northern boundary for the South from the Mason-Dixon line southward to the Potomac, reconfiguring the imagined sectional geography, is most evident in the explicit comparisons soldiers made between their experiences in Virginia and Maryland. "The country itself was different from that part of Virginia which we had previously passed," wrote a soldier in the Fifty-Seventh New York. "The fields were highly cultivated, the stacks of hay were many and high, the stalks were full of corn, the homes tidy, and the barns large. It was a welcomed change, also, to be greeted with smiles instead of frowns."[81] Lorenzo Vanderhoef agreed: "What a change from the sullen civilians of southside Virginia!"[82] Elisha Hunt Rhodes, the well-known Civil War diarist, "found most of the villages in Maryland to be neat, and the tall church spire looks better than the jail we found in every Virginia town...."[83] In much the same way that Maryland always had jails in the towns in 1861, Union soldiers selectively heard and saw those features as positive symbols of civic order only after they were contrasted with the jails of Virginia. Norton Oliver of the Eighty-third Pennsylvania perhaps summarized

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[81] Frederick, *The Story of a Regiment being A Record of the Military Services of the Fifty-Seventh New York State Volunteer Infantry*, 82.
[82] Vanderhoef, *"I am Now a Soldier!"*, 105.
[83] Rhodes, ed., *All for the Union: The Civil War Diary and Letters of Elisha Hunt Rhodes*, 84. For additional examples see: David Lane, *A Soldier's Diary: The Story of a Volunteer 1862–1865* (Jackson, Mich., 1905), 31; Vautier, *History of the 88th Pennsylvania Volunteers*, 69–70, 87; Acken, ed., *Inside the Army of the Potomac*, 117–18, 127.

this best when he stated, "it seemed such a relief to get into civilized country after a year's sojurn in the deserts of Virginia...."[84] Likely this same pleasant view of a friendly and familiar landscape inspired a member of the Eighth Ohio to shout, "'Colonel! we're in God's country again!'" upon crossing the Potomac and climbing up the Maryland shoreline.[85] The Civil War successfully separated Maryland and Virginia into two different regions, despite their common history.

Norton Oliver and this soldier from Ohio again highlight the use of religious imagery by Yankee soldiers, and show how this too shifted during the Antietam campaign. The language employed by troops no longer invoked a God-forsaken southern landscape (the "desert"), but rather highlighted the reassuring presence of God (in "paradise," or in "God's country"). And this scene was complete with the familiar sound of church bells ringing. "Just as we were coming into Frederick city the bells were ringing for church, the first that I had heard since I left home."[86] Metaphorically, the Old Line State's transformation into the land of civilization was complete—Marylanders now had found God and decided to live more enlightened lives (although interestingly none of the soldiers mentioned that Maryland continued to support slavery until November of 1864 because the Emancipation Proclamation did not apply there).

This shift in perception was further sustained by experiences during the Gettysburg campaign and the later years of the war, ultimately becoming a fixed redefinition of the state's identity that lasted into the postwar years. Abraham Lincoln and Union department commanders were sufficiently convinced of this change in their minds to be comfortable moving garrison troops out of Maryland and into West Virginia

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[84] Oliver Willcox Norton, *Army Letters 1861–1865* (Chicago, 1903), 120.
[85] Martin and Snow, *I am Now a Soldier*, 106.
[86] Tappan, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. Russell M. Tuttle*, 29.

and Virginia as the battle lines crept further southward from the Potomac. Soldiers writing in the latter years of the war concurred with this assessment of their leaders.

James Northrup, writing in June 1863, thought the Myersville area was "the handsomest farming country I have seen since I left Illinois....While old treacherous Virginia is desolated and devastated...Md. is enjoying all the blessings of peace and prosperity, the legitimate effects of disloyalty and loyalty to the good old Union."[87] Maryland was not only loyal in the minds of the troops, it was a region rewarded for never having sided with the South in the first place (conveniently forgetting that Union troops helped to ensure Maryland legislators did not vote on secession in 1861). Nonetheless, journeying through the state was "in the nature of a picnic" for the First Brigade of New Jersey Volunteers, who found the landscape agreeable, with numerous citizens offering them "biscuits, milk, honey, eggs and other things dear to a soldier's stomach...."[88] Another veteran commented that he went to Frederick so he could "look around upon civilization a while" when his unit was encamped near the city en route to Gettysburg.[89] Soldiers from the First Rhode Island Light Artillery Battery B, who had commented on Maryland in previous visits during 1861 and 1862, seemed to hit all the highlights of Maryland circa 1863 when they wrote, "The Monocacy Valley through which the corps had passed, was one of the vintage grounds of Maryland; the picturesque

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[87] Robert C. Steensman, *"Drifting to an Unknown Future": The Civil War Letters of James E. Northup and Samuel W. Northup* (Sioux Falls, 2000), 70–1.
[88] Camille Baquet, *History of the First Brigade, New Jersey Volunteers from 1861 to 1865...* (1910; reprint: Gaithersburg, Md., 1988), 90–1.
[89] Acken, ed., *Inside the Army of the Potomac*, 290.

villages, fertile fields, sturdy farmers, portly women, and buxom maidens, all betoken prosperity, good living and happiness."[90]

Those troops sent in 1864 to find and stop Confederate General Jubal A. Early in Maryland commented similarly. "Of our ride through the fertile acres of Maryland, covered with luxuriant vegetation, so different from the sandy, dreary wastes of Petersburg, whose vicinity we had recently left, it is unnecessary to say more than that we enjoyed every rod of it." Alfred Roe of the Ninth New York Heavy Artillery, continued, "It was something to see thrifty people and well kept houses again, and the 'Star Spangled Banner' floating from many a farm-house, told us that we were in God's land once more."[91] Members of the 138th Pennsylvania agreed, envisioning in the fertile fields that "the very air was purer—the water sweeter—and that our grassy couches equaled in comfort the downy cushions of luxuriant home."[92] Wilbur Fisk continued the thought: "Marching through the fertile fields of Maryland, is a much more pleasant affair than marching through the desolate regions of Virginia. Everything has a look of thrift and prosperity in Maryland...[t]he inhabitants treat us cordially, as if grateful for the toil and sacrifice we are making for our country," and all this despite having "suffered greatly from this raid."[93] These comments are quite a drastic turn-around when compared to those of 1861.

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[90] Rhodes, *The History of Battery B First Regiment Rhode Island Light Artillery*, 222. For 1863 see also: Vautier, *History of the 88th Pennsylvania Volunteers*, 103–4; Rhodes, *All for the Union*, 168; Sawyer et. Al, *Letters from a Civil War Surgeon*, 137; Herdegen and Murphy, *Four Years With the Iron Brigade*, 187.
[91] "Alfred S. Roe, "Recollections of Monocacy." *Personal Narratives of the Events in the War of the Rebellion, Being Papers Read Before the Rhode Island Soldiers and Sailors Historical Society. Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Rhode Island Vol. IV.* (1885. Reprint: Wilmington, NC, 1993), 432.
[92] Osceola Lewis, *History of the One Hundred and Thirty-Eighth Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry* (Norristown, Penn., 1866).
[93] Emil and Ruth Rosenblatt, eds., *Hard Marching Every Day*, 241.

This was not to say that every citizen the troops encountered during or after the Antietam campaign was an ardent supporter of the Union or assisted the troops in any manner. Particular pockets of Unionists or southern sympathies will be explored in later chapters, but two events recorded by the troops are illustrative here. Captain Francis Donaldson recalled in September 1862 while passing through Middletown, a place reported by numerous soldiers including Donaldson to be a Unionist stronghold, that even there some civilians opposed the Union troops and maliciously "removed every handle from off the pumps along the street through which the army passed, and not a drop of water was to be had by the parched and thirsty troops." The troops were angered and "tarried long enough to fill each pump with stones and dirt so that the natives would feel some of the discomforts of the thirsty soldiers."[94] Frederick too, despite exhibiting a substantial number of Union men and women, was often found to have southern dissenters among the happy crowds. John Buford, a Union cavalry commander well known for his actions during the first day of the battle of Gettysburg, ordered that a captured local spy by the name of Richardson be hanged in the Jefferson area on July 9, 1863—the body was left in the tree as a warning to others who were supporting the Confederacy and smuggling goods and information in southern Frederick County.[95]

Regardless of these pockets of pro-southern sentiment, Maryland was clearly no longer the South in the language of northern soldiers. They included the state in the "northern soils" when they defended the Union territory during the invasions of 1863 and 1864 and when they counted "Dixie" as beginning once they had crossed the Potomac

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[94] Acken, ed., *Inside the Army of the Potomac*, 120.
[95] See mentions of this event in: Reichardt, *Diary of Battery A, First Regiment Rhode Island Artillery*, 99; and Hall, et Al., *History of the Sixth New York Cavalry*, 132.

headed southward back into Virginia.[96] Other soldiers even longed to stay in Maryland, either during the remainder of the war or in their postwar years. "We broke camp yesterday at Berlin about 3:30 P.M. and crossed the Potomac amid the curses and groans of the men who detest the soil of Virginia, and who declair [sic] that 'Old Meade'. . .is again leading them to the graveyard of the Army of the Potomac (Fredericksburg). . . .Even the name Virginia is hateful to me."[97] And Elisha Hunt Rhodes expressed his desire to move to Maryland permanently, "I shall regret to leave Maryland, for all the country is delightful. I am almost tempted to turn farmer and move to this state."[98] Amos Judson, however, waxed poetically enough for all three men: "Ah, those halcyon days which we passed on the romantic shores of the Potomac! For nearly six weeks did we lie, in perfect repose, in the bosom of that delightful valley, the mountains of the Blue Ridge towering up before us on the one hand, and the waters of the Potomac flowing quietly along between its rock-bound shores, on the other."[99]

No such statements were forthcoming from the Confederates by the end of the war. At the outset of hostilities Confederate soldiers likewise included Maryland in their internalized map of the South. Southerners understood themselves to be linked to Marylanders through their identification with the state's heritage and the institution of slavery, so it was quite natural to think of the state as a southern sister. The landscape was infrequently mentioned because the observable sights and sounds were never strange or contested in the minds of Confederates. If they mentioned the farms and the houses, it

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[96] Rhodes, ed., *All for the Union*, 118 (first quotation); Steensman, ed., *"Drifting to an Unknown Future"*, 71.
[97] Acken, ed., *Inside the Army of the Potomac*, 318, see also p. 290.
[98] Rhodes, ed., *All for the Union*, 118.
[99] Judson, *History of the Eighty-Third Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers*, 96. See also: Vautier, *History of the 88th Pensylvania Volunteers*, 87; Acken, ed., *Inside the Army of the Potomac*, 120; Sawyer et. Al, *Letters from a Civil War Surgeon*, 137.

was in an approving tone for the beauty of the hills and land. The fact that the state bore a strong geographical resemblance to Virginia and other southern states only helped to strengthen the resolve of southerners to see Maryland freed from Lincoln's oppression. In fact, the landscape was not important to Confederate soldiers in the way it was for Union troops; instead, southern men-at-arms focused their scrutiny on the civilian population, and whether or not citizens were behaving as "true southerners." This became their benchmark for gauging the true identity of the state. And the reaction of Marylanders to the Confederate offensives northward in 1862 and 1863, or the lack thereof, changed southern minds about the state. In 1862 Confederates were largely disappointed by the failure of Maryland civilians to flock to their standard, a people they had professedly set out to liberate, and although some held out hope longer than others, by the start of what became the Gettysburg campaign most Confederate soldiers had written off Maryland for good.

Scholars have examined the question of identity as perceived in the soldiers' ranks from a south-looking-north direction only minimally. Reid Mitchell has focused on the ways southern troops viewed the northern landscape, examining specifically how Lee's Army of Northern Virginia perceived the Pennsylvania land and people in 1863 (with brief mentions of their interactions with Marylanders). He does not consider the ways in which the Johnny Rebs were challenging their received cultural definitions or understandings of northern society, but rather Mitchell's emphasis is on explaining why Confederates did not take the war to the northern populace in the way that Sherman did to Georgians during his March to the Sea. The Pennsylvania countryside did surprise many Confederates in much the same ways Yankees were surprised by what they experienced

in Maryland: southern troops described the Pennsylvania countryside and civilians as "ugly," "dirty," and "degraded"—a truly corrupt society that allowed able-bodied men to remain at home farming in all parts of Adams County rather than enlisting to fight for their country. This was a sight one would not have seen in the manpower-deprived regions of Virginia and other southern states. Confederates took pride in fighting for their nation and in thinking themselves better behaved while in the North than the Yankees had behaved in the South—although Mitchell also pointed out that "the Gettysburg campaign saw its share of casual looting, intimidation of civilians, and more reprehensible crimes."[100] Southern troops did not take the war to the northern populace because the South wanted first and foremost to be recognized as an independent nation, so the soldiers were partly restrained by their officers and partly self-restrained out of a sense of pride in their presumed superiority and discipline as compared to the Union soldiers. The North felt the need "to demonstrate its power" rather than "prove its respectability," and ultimately this was the key difference between the armies and their policies towards civilians.[101] This point is relevant to a discussion of Maryland because it illustrates how Maryland was accepted as a southern state, at least initially, even if the civilians failed to live up to Confederate expectations. Although there are instances of foraging and harsh words with civilians, as will be seen, the descriptions and attitudes towards the state were not akin to those that the Confederates reserved for Pennsylvanians.

William Blair likewise has a thought-provoking piece that argues Maryland helped to define Confederate nationalism by bringing Upper South Unionists who were

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[100] Mitchell, *Civil War Soldiers*, 150, 154.
[101] Ibid., 156.

waffling on secession into the Confederate fold in 1861 and 1862. Lincoln's martial law, suspension of habeas corpus, and political arrests convinced southerners—Blair argues—that they had been correct in expecting the worst behavior from a Federal government run by Republicans. Other factors also helped create a Confederate identity, but Maryland played a role in helping southerners to "build a persuasive image of themselves as a liberty-loving people struggling to maintain the heritage of the American Revolution."[102]

Although the emphasis is on the perceptions of southern civilians as a whole, Blair briefly mentions ways in which Marylanders affected the attitudes of Confederate soldiers: the failure of most citizens to respond to the Confederate overtures to help Maryland break the tyrant's chains in September 1862 did not completely disillusion the Confederate soldiers with the state's population, but following Antietam most of the soldiers felt that "Maryland was a hopeless cause unless a Confederate army could be garrisoned in the state." This would give the civilians time to realize their new freedom from Lincoln's oppression and embolden them to rise up without fear of reprisal. Even this hope was gone after Gettysburg. [103]

The evidence from Confederate soldiers' writings on Maryland supports the idea that Antietam was an initial turning point in soldiers' sentiments, not unlike Blair has identified for southerners on the whole, and that Gettysburg then proved to be the death knell for Maryland's southern identity as far as southern troops were concerned. There are few accounts from 1861 that contain observations on Maryland, since Confederates were not involved in any significant offensive within the state boundaries. William Dorsey Pender, however, served briefly as a Confederate recruiting agent in Baltimore

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[102] William A. Blair, "Maryland, Our Maryland: Or How Lincoln and His Army Helped to Define the Confederacy," in Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *The Antietam Campaign* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1999), 75.
[103] Ibid., 91 (quotation), 94.

during March and April of 1861. Pender, a native of North Carolina and an 1854 graduate of West Point, married Fanny Shepperd, daughter of long-time southern U.S. Representative from North Carolina Augstine H. Shepperd, in March 1859.

When the war broke out he had just returned from duty in Oregon to commence a new assignment at Carlisle Barracks in Pennsylvania. Pender resigned his commission in the United States Army and went to seek a commission in the Confederate Army from officials in Montgomery, Alabama. He was made a captain of artillery in the provisional army on March 16, 1861, and "sent to Baltimore to take charge of the Confederate security depot."[104] In a letter to his wife on March 26, he wrote: "I have not yet told you my business here. I am sending men South to be enlisted in the Southern Army. I merely inspect and ship them. I do nothing that the law could take hold of if they wish to trouble me, but Baltimore is strong for secession, and I am backed up by the sympathy of the first men here."[105] On April 3 he wrote to allay her fears, "As to danger, I am not in the least, for not only are the best and larger number of people with us, but the police is all right. They have been at the boat each time I have sent off men. I sent off sixty-one in less than a week. Sixty-four had been sent a few days before I arrived...."[106] His last letter from Baltimore was hurriedly written aboard the steamer *Norfolk* as he departed the city on the night of April 11: "I received a telegram from Montgomery to go there at once...Mr. Forsythe one of the Southern Commissioners in Washington told me he had just received a dispatch to the effect that Fort Sumter would be attacked tonight and one of his colleagues told me I had better go as direct as possible...I am glad to get away from

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[104] William W. Hassler, *The General to His Lady: The Civil War Letters of William Dorsey Pender to Fanny Pender* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1965), 4–6, 11–12; quotation is from page 11.
[105] Ibid., 12.
[106] Ibid., 13.

Balto."[107] While Pender left at an opportune time to head South before transportation across the Potomac became even more difficult, one wonders what point of view he could have offered on the events of the following week. His writing does make explicit the widespread nature of southern sympathies within the city, and it is impressive to consider that he and a handful of agents smuggled more than an infantry company worth of men into the South in less than two weeks. These surreptitious actions by Marylanders only helped to defend their southern identity as a state in the eyes of Confederates during the early months of 1861.

By 1862 Confederate soldiers—like many in the South who heard tales of Union soldiers' disreputable conduct and Lincoln's tyrannical dominion over state politics, made widespread in newspapers and in song thanks to James Ryder Randall—by and large supported Lee's decision to enter Maryland, as they too believed the state would yet join the South if given a chance to throw off Lincoln's oppressive rule. Troops from the Twenty-third North Carolina Infantry sang "Maryland, my Maryland" as did many other Confederates crossing the Potomac: "With bounding hearts did our brave boys clamber up the opposite shores of the Potomac, looking confidently for the support and encouragement of the Maryland people...."[108] Likewise Virginians sang and cheered crossing the Potomac, and a Georgian commented that when his unit had crossed the river "they got on the other side [and] such a yell was never heard which rent the air and echoed down the long extending banks of the river, and here the band struck up the tune

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[107] Ibid, 14–15.
[108] H. C. Wall, *Historical Sketch of the Pee Dee Guards, (Co. D, 23rd N.C. Regiment) from 1861–1865* (Raleigh, NC, 1876), 42.

of Maryland which has become very common at the present."[109] One soldier from Alabama was even remiss to enter Maryland for fear that it gave the impression they were "invading" a sister state—he was relieved to find his unit ordered to go with Jackson towards the Union garrison at Harper Ferry.[110]

Upon crossing the Potomac and entering Frederick County, several Confederates were pleasantly surprised by the level of support they found among civilians. J. J. Wilson of the Sixteenth Mississippi told his father, "There is [sic] some good secessionists over here and as fine a people as I ever saw."[111] William Ardy Heirs from the Third Alabama agreed: "We have had no fighting to do so far but on the contrary have met with a warmer welcome than we expected, especially from the ladies."[112] Frederick city exhibited "Strong Southern feeling among those good people," as did Boonsboro and the southern parts of Frederick and Washington counties along South Mountain.[113] Tally Simpson, son of a prominent South Carolina politician and a soldier who brought his personal slave Zion with him to the warfront, saw in Frederick "[t]he Confederate flag floated from the windows of many houses, and young ladies each were pleased to have one and to cheer for Jeff Davis &cc."[114]

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[109] David E. Johnston, *The Story of a Confederate Boy in the Civil War* (Portland, Ore., 1914), 132; Robert H. Moseley, *The Stilwell Letters: A Georgian in Longstreet's Corps, Army of Northern Virginia* (Macon, Ga., 2002), 39.
[110] William Frierson Fulton II, *The War Reminiscences of William Frierson Fulton II, 5th Alabama Batallion Archer's Brigade A.P. Hill's Light Division, A.N.V.* (Reprint: Gaithersburg, Md., 1986).
[111] Robert G. Evans, *The 16th Mississippi Infantry: Civil War Letters and Reminiscences* (Jackson, Miss., 2002), 113.
[112] William Ardy Heirs, letter daited September 7, 1862, William Ardy Heirs Letters, Civil War Times Illustrated Collection, 2nd Series (USAMHI).
[113] W.A. Betts, ed., *Experience of a Confederate Chaplain 1861–1864. Rev A[lexander] D[avis] Betts, D.D., N.C. Conference Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (Ann Arbor, Mich. [University Microfilms]), 16; Austin C. Dobbins, ed., *Grandfather's Journal: Company B Sixteenth Mississippi Infantry Volunteers Harris' Brigade Mahone's Division Hill's Corps. A.N.V. May 27, 1861–July 15, 1865* (Dayton, Ohio, 1988), 104.
[114] Guy R. Everson and Edward H. Simpson, Jr., eds., *'Far, Far From Home': The Wartime Letters of Dick and Tally Simpson Third South Carolina Volunteers* (New York, 1994), 148.

Simpson was one of several soldiers who expressed high hopes for liberating Maryland and spoke eloquently about Lee's entry into Maryland. Lincoln's "iron heel is upon the neck of poor Maryland, and when I thought of the fact that our army, with hearts burning with sympathy on account of her oppressed condition had entered her territory to tear the tyrant's yoke from her bleeding neck, how could I otherwise than breathe a prayer to the Almighty to assist us in our glorious work?"[115] This sentiment was not confined to South Carolinians—as one might expect given their antebellum traditions for oratorical style and hopes for a southern nation— for other Confederate soldiers agreed. William Dorsey Pender, who after his exploits in Baltimore went on in August 1861 to become a colonel in the Sixth North Carolina Infantry, wrote home, "Say to Helen that she need not be surprised to hear of our being in Philadelphia in less than ten days. Md. is rising, we have a victorious army, and no troops in our front. Gen. Lee has shown great Generalship...[t]here never was such a campaign, not even by Napoleon."[116] William Stillwell from Georgia concurred as well: "Some think Maryland will secede in a short time. There are a great many men joining our army now and they say we will get thirty thousand as sure as we get to Baltimore."[117]

Unfortunately for the Confederates, a few dozens—not thousands—of Marylanders joined Lee, and pro-southern sympathizers were scattered about in a region of the state that had a fair number of Unionists too.[118] Most soldiers experienced mixed reactions to their arrival in the state. "In Frederick our hearts were made glad by

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[115] Ibid., 147–8.
[116] Hassler, *The General to His Lady*, 173.
[117] Moseley, *The Stillwell Letters*, 42–3.
[118] It is difficult to track the reports and newspaper accounts of Marylanders who joined Lee once he crossed into Maryland and account for what may be overlap or even over-estimations. The actual number is probably between 300 and 1,500. See Blair, "Maryland our Maryland," 91.

unmistakable signs of friendship and sympathy. A bevy of pretty girls. . . proposed 'three cheers for the battle flag of Seven Pines,' which were heartily and lustily given by us. In Middletown we met no smiles...," and at Hagerstown "we observed indications and heard some expressions of Southern sentiment, but none that satisfied us that they were ready and willing to shed their blood for the Southern cause."[119] In other areas "[t]he houses are generally closed up as if deserted...[there] were some indications of favor, but the awe of being reported to the Yankees when we leave, no doubt, kept the manifestations of feeling in check."[120] Clearly in some places citizens were afraid to express their feelings, and that had an adverse effect on the southern troops' reception. At Jefferson a Confederate artilleryman "saw one bright-faced lady standing in her room before a window waving a white handkerchief at us as we passed, though she did it in a manner as not to be observed by her [Unionist] neighbors."[121]

Seventeen months of Union military control from April 1861 until September 1862, in addition to the political arrests made by Lincoln throughout the summer and fall of 1861 (a handful of whom were still in prison during the Antietam campaign), produced a dampening effect on even the most vocal southern sympathizers in Maryland. Nonetheless, Confederate soldiers were disappointed. Tally Simpson wrote simply, "I am sorry to say, however, that there are a great many more Union people in the state than I expected to find."[122] A Mississippian noted as he and his fellow troops crossed the ford

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[119] Johnston, *The Story of a Confederate Boy*, 137-8. See also, Evans, ed., *The 16th Mississippi Infantry*, 119.
[120] Evans, *The 16th Mississippi Infantry*, 114.
[121] George M. Neese, *Three Years in the Confederate Horse Artillery* (New York, 1911) 117–8.
[122] Everson and Simpson, eds., *'Far From Home,'* 147–8. See also, W.A. Smith, *The Anson Guards, Company C, Fourteenth Regiment North Carolina Volunteers 1861–1865* (Charlotte, NC, 1914), 149–51; Wall, *Historical Sketch of the Pee Dee Guards*, 42.

at Shepherdstown back into Virginia, "We were no longer singing Maryland, My Maryland, for with some 14,000 casualties we were hurt badly."[123]

Several soldiers tried to understand the failure of Marylanders to flock to their armies and offered arguments in support of the state to sustain the hope that Maryland might yet join the Confederacy. "The sentiments of the people were about equally divided, and before invading her soil a rumor had gone abroad, circulated by Union sympathizers, that, as soon as General Lee should reach there he purported making a conscription of all able-bodied men. Nearly all such, of both Union and Confederate sentiments, had absconded before our arrival." Ultimately, though, "our Maryland Campaign was a very disagreeable and unsatisfactory venture."[124] Captain Samuel Buck from the Thirteenth Virginia offered another explanation and remained hopeful for the future: "I expected the Maryland men would rush into our army, but....War had become a reality, men were being killed by hundreds and thousands and the novelty had worn off. Had such an opportunity been presented the first year of the war we would have had the state of Maryland with us and many most excellent soldiers." As for the Antietam campaign, Buck thought "the Confederacy gained but little, yet I am glad we crossed the Potomac."[125] A handful of other Confederates were simply glad for the opportunity to forage among the fresh fruits and ripe fields of Maryland, as contrasted with their short rations in Virginia.[126]

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[123] Dobbins, ed., *Grandfather's Journal*, 106.
[124] Jeffrey D. Stocker, ed., *From Hunstville to Appomattox: R. T. Cole's History of 4th Regiment, Alabama Volunteer Infantry, C.S.A., Army of Northern Virginia* (Reprint: Knoxville, Tenn., 1996), 61.
[125] Samuel D. Buck, *With the Old Confeds: Actual Experiences of a Captain in the Line* (Baltimore, 1925), 60.
[126] George Wise, *History of the Seventeenth Virginia Infantry, C.S.A.* (Baltimore, 1870), 110–11; Dobbins, ed., *Grandfather's Journal*, 104; Smith, *The Anson Guards*, 149–51.

These arguments buoyed the hopes of some Confederate soldiers, but most had low expectations for Marylanders when they returned in 1863. Maryland was no longer a sister state, but it was not yet enemy territory either. Confederates looked forward to exacting some revenge from Marylanders by living as fully off the land as possible within General Lee's strict orders to respect civilian property (and sometimes outside those orders), but they also clearly saw Pennsylvania as the ultimate objective of their movement North.[127] Luther Hopkins made this distinction between Maryland and Pennsylvania clearly: "I cannot describe the feeling of the Southern soldiers as they crossed the line separating Maryland and Pennsylvania, and trod for the first time upon the sacred soil of the North. Many of our soldiers had been on Maryland soil before this, and although Maryland was not a part of the Confederacy, we felt she was one of us...but not so when we crossed into Pennsylvania."[128]

Furthermore, even in June and July 1863 there were still pockets of southern sympathy mixed in with those who supported the Union. This is particularly noteworthy as Confederate soldiers were passing through Washington County now rather than Frederick County (both considered Unionist in sentiment by southerners and Marylanders alike), which had even fewer slaves among the population than did Frederick County. A gunner from the Norfolk Blues Light Artillery noted as he passed over the Potomac and through Maryland, "the people are divided; about half being Union while the other half are Secessionists, though there are many of the latter who dare not express themselves openly."[129] Williamsport, Hagerstown, and Funkstown all demonstrated mixed

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[127] Moseley, ed., *The Stillwell Letters*, 176, 180.
[128] Luther Hopkins, *From Bull Run to Appomattox: A Boy's View* (Baltimore, 1908), 96–7.
[129] John Walters, ed., *Norfolk Blues: The Civil War Diary of the Norfolk Light Artillery Blues* (Shippensburg, Penn., 1997), 72.

sentiments when Confederates were in the area (the county seat is Hagerstown, a mere five miles from the Pennsylvania state line).[130] Marylanders may not have acted on their patriotic duty as southerners during 1862 and 1863, according to Confederate soldiers, but they were still "southern" (albeit misguided Unionists) in a difficult situation.

For a number of troops, evidence to the contrary notwithstanding, Maryland was fair game in 1863, and hungry Confederates were just as likely to take what they needed or wanted in terms of supplies, livestock, and food. William Dorsey Pender recorded having trouble reigning in his troops: "Until we crossed the Md. line our men behaved as well as troops could, but here it will be hard to restrain them, for they have an idea that they are to indulge in unlicensed plunder." Still, they did "nothing like the Yankees have done in our country." Nonetheless, he admitted the local population was "frightened to death and will do anything we intimate to them."[131] Others spoke of the countryside being "well drained" when they departed.[132] Some even desired revenge on the people of Maryland for their apathy in 1862. A Georgian promised his family as he approached the Potomac, "[t]here is one thing sure, if I go back [to Maryland] again, I am going to live well. . . .they are no friends of ours and I am not going to suffer while I can find anything there to eat."[133] As Confederates left Maryland in 1863 and returned "to Dixie once more," Maryland had lost all its charm, having failed twice to join the Confederate armies or rise up in any way and join the South.[134]

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[130] L. Leon, *Diary of a Tar Heel Confederate Soldier* (Charlotte, NC, 1913), 32; Robert Emory Park, *Sketch of the Twelfth Alabama Infantry of Battle's Brigade, Rodes' Division, Early's Corps, of the Army of Northern Virginia* (Richmond, 1906), 52, 55; Everson and Simpson, eds., *'Far From Home,'* 250.
[131] Hassler, *The General to His Lady*, 253.
[132] Sarah Bahnson Chapman, ed., *Bright and Gloomy Days: The Civil War Correspondence of Captain Charles Frederic Bahnson, a Moravian Confederate* (Knoxville, Tenn., 2003), 71.
[133] Moseley, *The Stillwell Letters*, 173, see also p. 174.
[134] Chapman, ed., *Bright and Gloomy Days*, 69.

For the few soldiers in Jubal Early's Corps who returned to Maryland in 1864, there was little sympathy. Early's mission had been to push Union cavalry under David Hunter out of the Shenandoah Valley and then to enter Maryland with the goal of a possible raid on the prisoner of war camp at Point Lookout, Maryland, but Early later changed his mission to an attack on Washington itself; this meant that his soldiers spent little time in any one place. Passing through Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and back again kept the soldiers constantly moving, and when these men mentioned Maryland, they spoke of the state only in terms of seizing goods from the people. Seizing food and supplies from Marylanders did not affect their heart strings; Maryland was for all intents and purposes a northern state.[135] In fact, the "levies" placed against Frederick for $200,000 and Hagerstown for $20,000 (which meant the destruction of the towns if left unpaid—effectively ransoms more than requisitions), and later the capture of Hancock and threats to Cumberland, were clear indications that Maryland was by then considered part of the North. Only Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, fared worse; it was burned by Early's men when the town refused to pay.

By April 1865, then, both Union and Confederate soldiers had come to think of Maryland as a northern state. This change in their imagined maps of regional identity, generally speaking, took place over the course of about one year for men in both armies, and the transition did not come without challenge to the definitions of their own national identity and culture. It required the soldiers to redefine what was familiar, or what they thought they knew about their nation, and to create some grey areas in the stark black-and-white antebellum worldviews they brought with them to the war in 1861. It also

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[135] See: Chapman, ed., *Bright and Gloomy Days*, 125–28; Fulton, *The War Reminiscences of William Frierson Fulton II*, 50.

forced them to consider the many roles of civilians in the war, both as potential combatants (guerillas, contrabands, conscripts, and potential volunteers) and as non-combatants (capable of being a source of power and morale for the enemy, and therefore potentially an acceptable strategic military target in terms of their property).

Like most wars, the Civil War created a sense of solidarity within the armies of both sides—a sense of themselves as soldiers, not just as a laborer or a carpenter from some specific town. The traumas of the battlefield, hardships on the campaign, and the fighting élan soldiers developed led to an internal cohesion among men-at-arms, sometimes even across the picket lines, that at the same time created a rift between civilians and soldiers. This shared experience as warriors also helped soldiers to deal with this challenge to their understanding of regional identities and the role of the war in remaking the nation. They did not have to give up the virtues they saw in their respective societies, or their personal investment and pride in being northerner or southerner, because they could invest those virtues in their own army. Gary Gallagher has illustrated how the Confederate population maintained a belief in their nation despite the hardships and inequalities of the war because they invested their hopes for independence in Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia, a group of men they believed to be honorable and fighting for a noble cause.[136] In many ways, it seems a similar process in the armies allowed the soldiers to challenge and alter how they viewed the essence of being "southern" or "northern" in a border region like Maryland without causing them to loose faith in who they were or for what cause they were fighting. When Marylanders failed to meet the expectations (in positive or negative ways) of "invading" soldiers, it caused the soldiers to rethink how they defined the regions and to alter it accordingly.

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[136] Gary W. Gallagher, *The Confederate War* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), especially chapter two.

Consequently, Union troops began to see in early 1862 that Maryland was not as southern as they initially thought, especially once these men had experienced combat and seen yet another southern landscape in Virginia—and even further south—with which to compare to Maryland. By the Antietam campaign in the fall of 1862, Union soldiers were pleasantly surprised to realize how many Unionists were among the civilian population of the state. The change in their attitudes towards the state, and in their cultural understandings, is apparent in altered language they use to describe its people, sounds, and landscape. Confederate troops, likewise, began with the assumption that Maryland was a southern state waiting to be released from the oppression the Lincoln administration, but they quickly saw once they entered the state in September 1862 that the people were less willing to join their cause than they hoped. This changed the mind of some soldiers rather quickly, but others were willing to wait and see if Marylanders were merely biding time to leave the Union when Confederates were able to hold the territory for a longer period of time. By the Gettysburg campaign, Confederate soldiers were convinced that Marylanders were not southerners at heart, or that their prolonged occupation had turned them into Yankees willing to accept Republican rule to remain in the Union.

Once soldiers in both the Union and Confederate armies experienced this shift and began to consider Maryland a northern state, the new regional identity stuck rather tenaciously. The "mental map" of the South changed, leading to a change in how the nation as a whole drew political and sectional maps—the dividing line moved southward, jumping from Mason and Dixon's line to the Potomac River. A war that was fought to keep states in the Union ended up kicking Maryland out of the South. But that did not

mean that all Marylanders themselves accepted the new "northern" identity, then or even today.

Chapter 4

The Civilian Response: From South to North

The soldiers' willingness to re-imagine Maryland's cultural identity resulted from their experiences seeing agriculture and other patterns more in line with their antebellum expectations of what defined "southernness" as they trekked further south in Virginia and other areas, but the change also came about because of the behavior of Maryland civilians. Some white Marylanders resisted the northern "label" being thrust upon them, particularly at the outset of the conflict; they were, however, a small portion of the population. Most Marylanders, white and black, celebrated the path that ultimately placed Maryland firmly on the map of the North by the end of the war. This was particularly true after 1862 when the General Assembly passed the Treason Bill and both the legislature and the executive branches of state government were controlled by the Union Party. While some white Unionists supported the war effort but still hesitated on emancipation (even into 1863), the state's new constitution in 1864 ended slavery and resolved the age-old sectional dilemma for good. Maryland's industrial and urban base would become the basis of the state's future in the nation, as would the available labor force in those urban centers—individuals who also represented markets for further development of truck farming (to feed the cities and canning industry) in the old plantation societies of southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore. Tobacco was on its way out by the 1870s, leaving Maryland bereft of its last historical tie to the South. Most importantly, however, by the end of the Civil War a majority of the state's civilians agreed with the soldiers' redefinition of their collective identity as northerners. This

chapter examines state politics during the war, focusing on the period from 1862 to 1865 and exploring expressions of the changing civilian sentiments.

The Union Party's victory in the November 1861 election helped move the state into the northern camp. When the General Assembly reconvened in January 1862, under the leadership of the Union Party for the first time, their initial action was to vote in favor of a proposed national amendment to prevent federal interference with the domestic institutions (slavery) of loyal states. This Constitutional amendment did not pass in a sufficient number of states, but Maryland's support for it—even by the Union Party—was the first of many instances where slavery and race relations would continue to influence the state's politics during the war. In fact, at the outset it is vital to understand how Maryland was both pro-Union and anti-black.[1]

The distinction between being anti-black and being pro-Confederate or pro-southern is an important one. Maryland supported the Union cause by the beginning of 1862, although anti-black sentiment remained prevalent throughout the war. When Marylanders did not support Abraham Lincoln's plan for emancipation, or other Republican proposals to extend protections or rights to blacks, it was not because they were any less faithful to the Union cause.[2] Just as federal soldiers balked at allowing African Americans to fight, and scoffed generally at the thought of making the war about freeing the slaves instead of purely to preserve the Union—resistance that did not belittle

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[1] Just as southern society was based on white supremacy, it should be remembered that the antebellum North was in some ways just as repressive a society. Racism was a national problem. See: Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790–1860* (Chicago, 1961), especially chapter 5; and *Life of William Grimes, the Runaway Slave*, William L. Andrews and Regina E. Mason, eds., (New York, 2008). Grimes' life in New York and Connecticut after is escape is fraught with racial tensions and controversies that show northerners found him to be a economic and social threat to their society just as free blacks were seen as a dangerous element in southern society.

[2] Maryland, like all the loyal border states invited to the meeting, refused to discuss compensated emancipation with President Lincoln in the spring and summer of 1862. See: *Easton Gazette* March 15, July 19, and July 26, 1862; and Frederick *Maryland Union* November 6, 1862.

their service or loyalty to the nation but that simply marked the differing racial attitudes and assumptions present throughout the nation—white Marylanders likewise did not support a change in the racial and social hierarchies of their state. This was not an anti-Union statement. Instead, it was an ideological position set within the context of the fears and assumptions of the nineteenth century: in particular, whites feared that if blacks were freed there would be chaos in society—violence and sexual assaults were possibilities, as was the potential for a general disruption of the social heirarchy, and in the worst case scenario, the danger of racial amalgamation, all elements that Charles Dew discusses in *Apostles of Disunion.*[3] These fears were more prevalent in states that had slavery, or in this case a state with slavery and an ever-growing free black population, where the potential loss of white dominance over society was much more at risk. State representatives resisted Lincoln's attempt at compensated emancipation in 1862. And as will be discussed later in the chapter, passage of the state's constitution in 1864 was a very close vote primarily because Marylanders rejected emancipation (although they also resented the registry laws, which disenfranchised the disloyal but sometimes the loyal too). Still, these hesitations were unrelated to the growing Union and northern sentiments in the state; they were not expressions of pro-Confederate or pro-southern loyalties, but rather of anti-black hostilities.

For Marylanders, like other slaveholders, the potential for violent attacks directed at white society was ever-present (originating with angry slaves or with free blacks, with Nat Turner's Rebellion in 1831 serving as a prime cautionary tale for whites). As such, part of white Marylander's fears about emancipation during the war revolved around the

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[3] Charles B. Dew, *Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War* (Charlottesville, Va., 2002).

potential for violence and disorder that immediate emancipation might cause. Given that context, any story of a black individual or group breaking the law and causing trouble was reported in the newspapers as evidence to remind fellow citizens to "tow the line" on maintaining white control (and opposition to emancipation). In August 1861 a family of free blacks was arrested and jailed in Ellicott's Mills for supposedly plotting an insurrection among slaves in the area.[4] In September 1862 several blacks who had been placed in the Frederick jail for "safe-keeping" (presumably from the invading armies) attempted to escape by setting the building on fire. Federal soldiers surrounded the building and all but four individuals were recaptured, although the sheriff lost most of his furniture (his living quarters were located there as well).[5] Another story appeared in 1863 involving robbery: three blacks were arrested for stealing $26 from a Union solder in Monrovia.[6] Events like these served to remind white citizens that preserving the racial order was of utmost importance.

In fact, the pro-Union, anti-black attitude was explicitly addressed by newspapers from all over the state. The two ideas were not mutually exclusive; they were the norm for the majority of white Marylanders. Congress's passage of a bill abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia in 1862 was seen as a threat to Maryland's institution since it "has surrounded slavery in Maryland with a wall of fire...."[7] But the rhetoric was truly ramped up after the Emancipation Proclamation took effect in January 1863, making it likely that slavery in the loyal states would also be threatened under the new dual war objectives—preserving the Union and ending slavery. The *Maryland Union* stated

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[4] Middletown *Valley Register*, August 2, 1861.
[5] Frederick *Republican Citizen*, September 19, 1862.
[6] Frederick *Maryland Union*, June 18, 1863.
[7] *Easton Gazette*, May 10, 1862.

emphatically "almost every day we meet with persons from the various Districts of our county...who in the course of conversation upon the absorbing questions of the day, say—"I am a Union man but no abolitionist." The editors go on to explain how common the sentiment is in Maryland, where most individuals had opposed the extremes of abolitionism and secessionism: "This is the prevailing sentiment, uttered by men of intelligence and respectability, from all sections of our county. It is the general feeling among all conservative men, without regard to their former political antecedents."[8]

The *Easton Gazette* agreed whole-heartedly. Despite the fact that these two papers were from disparate parts of the state—one steeped in slavery and tobacco culture and one from western Maryland—they both illustrate the prevalence of Union sentiments in those regions and likewise the commitment of those same Unionists to denying freedom (in the case of the slaves), suffrage, and other civil rights (testifying in court, for instance) to the state's black population. The *Gazette* wrote:

> The Union men of Maryland will never sustain the Administration's Emancipation plans. They will give, as they have done, their hearty support to the Union cause. We have not a single representative in Congress who is in favor of the President's Emancipation Proclamation; and I doubt whether among the Union members of the General Assembly of Maryland, there is one who will sustain it. We are Union men from principle in Maryland, uncompromising Union men, opposed to *Emancipation Disunion* as well as *Secession Disunion.*[9]

Additional resolutions were passed by a meeting of citizens in Dorchester County that expressed even more clearly the anti-black sentiment. They argued that "free-negroism [is] a curse to the county and an incubus upon the energies of any Community or white

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[8] Frederick *Maryland Union*, April 16, 1863.

[9] *Easton Gazette*, Janaury 3, 1863. Emphasis in original. The sentiment continued into 1865 and the postwar years, as will be see later in the conclusion. See also: *Hagerstown Mail*, November 3, 1865.

men tolerating it." Continuing their list of resolutions, the citizens stated: "Maryland can never be the Paradise of free-negroism, the free negro state of the Union. If involuntary negro servitude can't exist, we must have exclusively white labor."[10] Throughout the war and afterward, race was a critical issue. And in Maryland, Unionism represented the majority viewpoint for whites at the same time that those same citizens were often anti-black.

Keeping that dynamic in mind, let us return to the legislation passed during the war following the victory of the Union Party in November 1861. The first major domestic act of the 1862 legislative session was the Treason Bill. Passed in March, to take effect in April 1862, the Treason Bill made explicit the punishments for opposing state or federal laws by aiding the enemy in any way. There were fourteen sections that outlined every possible way of undermining the war effort and established the penalty—usually a prison term or a fine—for each offense. More severe crimes carried the possibility of execution; for "levying war against this State" (the implication being against the federal government as well) one could be sentenced to death or possible imprisonment for a period ranging from six years to twenty years "at the discretion of the court." In addition, burning or destruction of bridges, viaducts, ferry-boats, turnpikes, and related vital transportation structures or facilities was prohibited, in direct response to events of the preceding April. The act covered the lesser crimes comprehensively as well: prohibitions included corresponding with the South; traveling to the South; smuggling goods (foodstuffs, munitions, medicine, clothing, and other items) into the South; convincing or suggesting a rebellious activity to someone else, whether or not that act was committed and including enticing soldiers to dessert; committing a rebellious or

[10] *Easton Gazette,* Janaury 17, 1863.

treasonous act oneself; and speaking against the government or wearing colors and emblems that denoted southern allegiances, among other offenses. The fines from the penalties, which in a few instances could range into the hundreds and thousands of dollars, were to be placed in a relief fund for the families of Marylanders who voluntarily enlisted in Union units.[11] The Treason Bill set the tone for civilian behavior for the remainder of the war.

Moreover, Jefferson Davis had conveyed his hopes that Maryland would as yet secede and join the South in his inaugural address in January. The General Assembly's response to his statement made Maryland's turn towards Unionism all the more apparent. The resolution, approved by a vote of 53 to 5 in the House of Delegates on February 26 and then sent on to Senate, referred to Davis as "the pretend president of a pretended Confederacy" and admonished the South for "acting under a delusion caused by the arts of the aspiring and criminal ambition of a few designing men...." The delegates went on to emphatically deny the South: "[we] are more and more convinced of the obligation, alike of interest and of duty, to abide with the undying attachment to the Union devised for us by our fathers, as absolutely necessary to our social and political happiness, and the preservation of the very liberty which they fought and bled to achieve for us."[12] Although it is unclear if the Senate later passed this response, several joint resolutions were passed during the session that further drove home Maryland's new found Unionism

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[11] Frederick *Examiner*, March 19, 1862; *Easton Gazette*, March 29, 1862; Carl N. Everstine, *The General Assembly of Maryland, 1850–1920* (Charlottesville, Va., 1984), 169–70. The provisions of the act were also reported in the *New York Times*, January 20, 1862 edition as pending legislation.

[12] Everstine, *The General Assembly of Maryland*, 171–72; *Proceedings and Documents of the House, December 1861 and January 1862*, vol. 757, pp. 586–88. Quotation is from p. 587. House Journal is available online at the Archives of Maryland Online: http://aomol.net/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000757/html/am757--586.html.

and support for the federal government. This is not the expression of a group that is pro-southern in any way.

Still, it is necessary to note briefly that Maryland's path towards Unionism and a northern identity did not go totally uncontested, particularly in the first two years of the war. Although most dissent directed at federal and state policies had diminished by 1863, as a result of the Treason Bill and the enforcement of strict provisions for the pass system and other military limitations placed on civilians in Baltimore and in the vital towns along the Virginia border like Williamsport and Cumberland, a small minority of Maryland citizens remained active dissenters throughout the war. Although the active southern sympathizers were likely only a few dozen across the entire state, they represented a problem that needed to be controlled by Union army officials. The individuals who slipped through Union lines or blockading vessels to communicate with or travel to Virginia with smuggled goods represented a security risk.

Resistance to federal and state policies, particularly as voiced in the churches and newspapers, was discussed in chapter two, but some Marylanders resisted Union authority in others ways. A number of the arrests that are mentioned in the *Official Records* (and in period newspapers) were related to smuggling items into the Confederacy—from munitions of war, cloth, and foodstuffs, to paper. As mentioned previously, smuggling along the Potomac River, particularly in southern Maryland, and along the Chesapeake was not impossible for the dedicated few who tried it, given the ease with which individuals could slip into coves and out-of-the-way creeks while traveling under cover of darkness, making it difficult for them to be seen by Union sailors

and soldiers. But other Marylanders tried even the obvious routes like rail lines and steamers.

Women were often more willing to try an obvious route into Virginia because they hoped their gender would protect them from scrutiny while in route, or from harsh punishment if caught—in this they were no different from their more famous counterparts who served as spies in Washington, D.C., and Virginia: Rose O'Neal Greenhow and Belle Boyd respectively. In 1864 Mary S. Terry, also known as Mary Otey, was arrested for trying to smuggle 279 yards of various fabrics along with 14 pairs of shoes, 8 bonnets, and various other clothing items into Virginia. Terry claimed to be founding a school for girls in Lynchburg, Virginia, but Union General Lew Wallace, in charge of her military tribunal, found this highly suspect given the astounding amount of cloth she was carrying and the fact that she had no school books in her collection trunks—she also had been investigated during 1863 for being a possible spy in Somerset County and sent south with the admonition not to return to Maryland. The mounting evidence convinced Wallace of her guilt, and Terry was sent to the female prison in Fitchburg, Massachusetts.[13]

Another woman who was only seventeen at the time of her capture, Sallie Pollock, was caught crossing the Potomac near Cumberland with letters to be delivered in Virginia. Some of the letters included details on Union troop strength, and Pollock could hardly deny knowledge of the contents when one of the letters was addressed specifically to her from Baltimore. She had successfully crossed the river on several occasions, deftly avoiding a more detailed search of her clothing in previous close calls with military authorities, but Sallie Pollock was finally caught in the act in 1864. One clue was the

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[13] Thomas P. Lowry, *Confederate Heroines: 120 Southern Women Convicted by Union Military Justice* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 47–52.

volume of mail she received, which raised alarm with the local postmaster. A third woman, Mary Elizabeth Gilbee, was also arrested trying to smuggle letters to the Confederacy in early 1864, this time near Leonardtown in southern Maryland.[14]

Smuggling was not confined to women or even individuals, and accounts of arrests for smuggling appear regularly in the newspapers. In July 1861 some thirty barrels of sugar were seized on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad en route to Virginia from the refining firm of Daughaday, Woods, & Company in Baltimore, along with boxes containing paper and clothing.[15] In January 1863 several thousand dollars worth of leather, hats, shoes, cutlery, silk thread and needles, and other merchandise were seized aboard a steamship between Annapolis and Baltimore. The goods had been purchased in New York, packed, and shipped to Annapolis, where they were re-packed and shipped to Baltimore—ultimately to be moved by rail to Harpers Ferry and then southward by the recipients. The goods were captured, but the three men who boarded the vessel with the trunks were able to slip off the ship at Locust Point and evade capture.[16] Others collected clothing, medical supplies, and even raised money to be sent South, or in some cases to be given to wounded Rebels left behind in Maryland, and were arrested.[17]

The movement of goods became problematic for Union officials, and in early 1863 General Robert Schenck issued orders that closed trade with Virginia. All goods or merchandise were forbidden from being transported south of the Potomac River unless the quantity was of the size necessary for personal consumption and the loyalty of all recipients was proven prior to shipment. Officers were placed at Harpers Ferry,

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[14] Ibid., 53–56. Many other women were involved in smuggling; see chapter two, which focuses on Maryland, pages 37–75.
[15] Middletown *Valley Register*, July 5, 1861.
[16] Middletown *Valley Register*, January 30, 1863.
[17] *Easton Gazette*, February 20, 1864, and Middletown *Valley Register*, June 5 and July 31, 1863.

Williamsport, Hagerstown, Hancock, and other military posts along the river. Interestingly, the paper reporting the new order, the Middletown *Valley Register*, utilized the opportunity to editorialize on Maryland's loyalty:

> If Maryland had seceded, as her disloyal sons desired her to do, these officers would have been placed along the Pennsylvania line, and our people would now be in the same destitute condition as those of Virginia [seeking the supplies]. Oh! the beauties of secession![18]

Maryland's role in the Union was far better than life in the Confederacy; the deprivations and hardships of life in Virginia were spared Maryland by remaining loyal—surprising words for a paper located just over South Mountain from the Antietam battlefield of the previous September.

The movement of vital information—like the strength and location of Union soldiers in Maryland—was also a problem. Catherine Susannah Thomas Markell kept a daily diary at her home in Frederick County. She lived in Buckeystown with her husband Charles Frederick (Fred) Markell, who owned a general goods store in nearby Frederick.[19] Susannah Markell's diary is very interesting, as her husband has a habit of leaving home for several days at a time and usually just prior to Confederate troop movements into the state. Susannah and her husband were ardent southern sympathizers, and Markell mentions several times in the diary her friendship with Bradley T. Johnson (a Frederick native and Confederate cavalry commander). Likewise, during the Antietam campaign she greets both Generals Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson at their temporary headquarters in the area, and she mentions seeing Lee again in the summer of 1863. It is clear that the Markells were among the inner circle of southern sympathizers

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[18] Middletown *Valley Register*, January 23, 1863.
[19] *Diary of Catherine Susannah Thomas Markell*, Library Collections, Historical Society of Frederick County, Inc., Frederick, Maryland, pages 1–2. Hereafter Markell Diary, HSFC, Frederick.

in Frederick County; Susannah's diary provides tantalizing details that spark suspicions but never confirm the actions of her husband's adventures.

Although he had a partner in the business, Fred Markell is absent from the shop (and from Frederick County) regularly, traveling frequently to Baltimore and also across the Potomac River into Virginia during 1861 and 1862. In fact, Fred Markell is gone from July 11 through July 22, 1861, dates that coincide with the battle of First Bull Run. Susannah detailed his provisions for the trip—a letter to take across the picket line for a friend as well as a change of clothing and food—and his route: Fred and another man slipped down to Noland's Ferry and crossed the Potomac near Point of Rocks, where they were in fact spotted and shot at by Union pickets. Fred Markell returned safely on July 22, and Susannah recorded her elation:

> Fred returned from Va. To-day—delighted to see him. He heard the cannon from the battle of Bull Run. It was Gen. Eppa Hunter [sic] who gave them parole on the Va. side of the ferry & both horses swam & they were obliged to get on the seat as the buggy floated. A rebel soldier of Ashby's command drove over from the island. The rebels returned the fire of the federal troops on the Md. Side.[20]

The fact that Eppa Hunton, in command of the Eighth Virginia just across the Potomac from Point of Rocks in 1861, assisted Markell in returning to Maryland makes it all the more likely he was passing along information in addition to the letter.

The story repeats itself again in 1862; on September 8 the Markells had tea with Generals Lafayette McLaws and Joseph B. Kershaw, along with their staff and many young women from the area. Susannah even sent a snack of fresh fruit to Jubal Early that morning, and she had attended church with General Stonewall Jackson the day before—where, interestingly, the preacher prayed for President Lincoln despite his southern

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[20] May 8, 1861, and July 11, 16, 22, 1861 entries, Markell Diary, HSFC, Frederick.

audience. On the ninth she visited with Jackson and General Robert E. Lee at their headquarters south of Frederick. Apparently Lee's hands were bandaged, he having been thrown from a new horse he received when arriving in Maryland and had injured both wrists. The ladies could but shake his fingertips rather than his hand with the admonition "'Touch them gently, ladies.'" Few women, or men, of questionable southern allegiance and limited connections could have moved so fluidly through the highest ranks of the Army of Northern Virginia.

Fred Markell left on September 12 headed to Hagerstown while Susannah entertained General J.E.B. Stuart and other Confederate officers that afternoon—although their meal was interrupted by the advance of federal troops (the Confederates took flight and Susannah and her guests took shelter from the shells in their basement). Union officers call on Susannah on September 13 and 14 to search her home for Confederate soldiers or arms. The rest of September and October pass with but a handful of entries before the daily notes resume, and on November 27 Susannah laments the passage of their wedding anniversary in solitude as her "beloved husband is absent & I know not where he is." Fred Markell returned on December 19. Fred had traveled with the Confederate army to Hagerstown where he remained until after the Battle of Antietam, and then he retreated with the Army of Northern Virginia to Williamsport and on to Winchester, Virginia, only leaving Winchester to return home when Federal forces took the town in December.[21]

A year later Susannah is more reserved in her account of events and for a long period of time Fred is not mentioned at all, making it unclear what the Markells did during the Gettysburg campaign. Susannah does note, however, the total confusion

[21] Markell Diary, HSFC, Frederick, entries for September, November, and December, 1862.

caused by the approach of Federal forces, with stores closing and people fleeing Frederick beginning on June 19. The massive numbers of the Union Army of the Potomac flood the streets of Frederick, making it impossible to enter the city. Interestingly, the Stars and Stripes were flying patriotically from many homes in Buckeystown on July 4, although Susannah noted "Sudden disappearance of all flags at 2 o'clock as the Rebels were reported coming."[22] The fear of being persecuted for expressing one's sentiments was, in fact, a prevalent factor in the decision of most Marylanders to "go with the flow," as will be discussed later in this chapter.

The Markells were obviously well connected in the circles of southern-sympathizers; they dined with, entertained, or met most of the Confederate leadership in 1862, and Fred Markell was at the least smuggling letters and information to the Confederates—in the end likely serving as a spy. And his actions, or at least his sentiments, were fairly well known in the community. Fred Markell's departure in September 1862 was noted by the *Maryland Union*, along with the names of several other men from Frederick who were supposed to have marched off with the Confederates. The *Maryland Union* printed a correction the following week on September 25, claiming Jacob Markell, Fred's father, had written to defend his son, who had merely left for Hagerstown and was caught between the lines of two contending armies—a dubious response in light of the details Fred offered in a supplement to Susannah's diary for that time period, although he likewise does not offer an explanation for why he suddenly needed to travel to Hagerstown while the Confederate army was encamped near his home and dining with his wife. Nonetheless, the story indicates that Markell's own community thought he supported (if not aided and abetted) the Confederates during the Antietam

[22] Markell Diary, HSFC, Frederick, entries for June and July 1863; quotation from July 4, 1863.

campaign, and that story was picked up by other papers including the *Easton Gazette* (a Unionist paper like the *Maryland Union*). The *Gazette* noted: "Fred. Markell marched away with the Rebel horde, and appears to be the only man among them with a grain of spirit."[23]

Given that these names speak to the numbers of citizens leaving to join the Confederates, which by all accounts—Union and Confederate comments—was only several dozen individuals in September of 1862, it is worth pausing to compare names that appear in the papers. The *Gazette* commentary is based on a conversation the author, a correspondent for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, had with J. H. Finney, a local Frederick County farmer whose land was used by the Confederates for a camp prior to the battle. In talking with one of General Lee's staff officers, Finney recalls the Confederates' disappointment with the welcome they received in Maryland and how Lee had taken "a letter from his pocket with over one hundred names thereon, at the same time stating 'these men wrote to us, and it was by their assurances we came here....'"[24] The article goes on to name ten other citizens of Frederick who joined the Confederates, in addition to Fred Markell, and notes that there were other names (not listed) from Hagerstown, but that the majority of individuals joining at that time came from Baltimore.

Moreover, another article in Frederick's *Maryland Union* in the spring of 1863 provides eleven additional names and some "six or eight more" (unnamed) persons who had marched off with the Confederates in September and were recently arrested by the Provost Marshal—none of whom match the list provided in the *Gazette*. By far the largest accounting for the Frederick area is made in the Frederick *Examiner*, which states

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[23] Frederick *Maryland Union*, September 25, 1862, and *Easton Gazette*, October 11, 1862 (via a letter from a correspondent in Fredrick appearing in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* of an unknown date).
[24] *Easton Gazette*, October 11, 1862.

that the best available information lists some 130 individuals from Frederick who joined the Confederates that September (but only lists 77).[25] Table 4.1 compares these three lists and confirms the estimated few hundred Maryland men who joined the Confederates in September. These names number less than one hundred and are focused only on the city of Frederick; even if a few men from Washington, Carroll, Howard, Montgomery, or even Baltimore County and Baltimore City joined the cause too, as the newspapers claim, these numbers pale in comparison to the total number of whites living in those counties (some of the most populous counties in the state). Likewise, as William Dorsey Pender's correspondence attests to (discussed in chapter three), any Marylanders who were inclined to fight for the Confederacy slipped out of the state in 1861 (and by all indications in letters and newspapers they left by a few dozen at a time).[26] Regardless, the presence of a few hundred southern sympathizers, particularly in Frederick and Washington Counties where the white population numbered almost 70,000 in 1860, indicates that this remnant of pro-Confederate individuals was a decidedly tiny portion of the people. The majority of the population was clearly Unionist.

Enoch Louis Lowe was one of the Marylanders mentioned by Lee who incorrectly advised the Confederate authorities in 1861 that Maryland was waiting to be liberated and would join the southern cause if only southern soldiers would cross the Potomac. Lowe grew up on a plantation just outside Frederick; his mother Adelaide and her sister, the family matriarch Victoire Vincendiere, escaped the French colony of Saint Domingue arriving in Baltimore in 1793. Victoire established a plantation estate, l'Hermitage,

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[25] Seventy-five names are legible, although the number 77 appears below the list. Frederick *Examiner*, September 24, 1862.

[26] William W. Hassler, *The General to His Lady: The Civil War Letters of William Dorsey Pender to Fanny Pender* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1965).

Table 4.1

Marylanders Listed as Joining the Confederates in September 1862

Easton *Gazette*	Frederick *Maryland Union*	Frederick *Examiner*
Hon. Richard H. Marshall	J. Wilson Heard	John W. Heard
G. M. Potts	Jacob Bender	[__?] Angell
Robert Y. Stokes	John Henry Bender	John Blumenauer
Fred Markell	Lawrence Bender	William Ba[ugh]man
Bob Johnson	James McDaniel	Arthur Boteler
George Hanson	George W. Doll	Martin A. Bartgis
A.B. Hanson	John W. Rierden	Lawrence S. Beckley
Dr. W. T. Wootten	John Hamilton	Peter Brokey
John Ritche	C. Wesley Kemp	James Castle
Mr. Ross	Vincent Rowe	Frank Crouse
John Need		George Custard
		George Doll
		Algernon Dyer
		Tyler Davis
		Thomas S. Derr
		Dr. Harry [Doree_?]
		Valerins Ebert Jr.
		Adolphus Fearhake
		Lewis Veit
		------ Ford [ambiguity in original]
		Michael P. Gallagher
		George Groshon
		Howard Greentree
		Edward Hanson
		George Horning
		John [Ha__?]
		John Hamilton
		John Haller
		Charles Hobbs
		Denton Hammond
		Robert Johnston
		Lewis Koester
		C. Wesley Kemp
		J. Kraft
		Christian King
		John Katz
		Baker H. Lamar
		Joseph Myers
		Henry T. Mahler
		------ Marlow [ambiguity in original]
		Charles Ma[rio]n [?]
		Nicholas Murphy

		Frederick Markell
		James McDaniel
		Frederick Nu[?]z
		Clarence Newon[_?]
		Jerome O'Leary
		Thomas H. O'Nealy
		John Orendorff
		Arthur Perry
		Walker Y. Page
		James W. Pearre
		Augustus Rowe
		Vincent Rowe
		James Rigdon
		Thomas [__?mmer]
		John Riordan
		[Au__?] Scott
		John Shipley
		William Shipley
		William B. Stokes
		Joseph Schell
		Samuel Snyder
		John Smith
		Vernon Simmons
		Edward Thomas
		Tobias Thomas
		John Tyler
		[?] Topper
		[Jen__?] Ward
		Charles Woodward
		Henry J. Williams
		------ Wile [ambiguity in original]
		Caper Wilcom
		Lawrence Yinger

Source: *Easton Gazette*, October 11, 1862; Frederick *Maryland Union*, April 23, 1863; and Frederick *Examiner*, September 24, 1862. The *Middletown Valley Register* of September 26, 1862, reprints some of the names from a Frederick paper adding Edward Bender, Victor Baughman, Stephen Hagan, and Ignatious Dutro (probably Dutrow), the last two men reported as being from Middletown. Given the illegible nature of the *Examiner* column, these two additional names are likely the two missing from the reported 77 total and the *Valley Register* editors either took the list from the *Union*, who had reprinted the *Examiner*'s list, or mistakenly attributed it to the "Frederick *Union*."

outside Frederick with the ninety slaves the family brought with them and played host to a number of French refugees, including her younger sister Adelaide. Adelaide Vincendiere later married a local man, Bradley S.A. Lowe, but they separated while Enoch Lowe was a child. As a result Enoch Lowe spent a great deal of his childhood on the plantation.

By the 1850s Lowe was a respected lawyer in Frederick, and when the new state constitution of 1850 called for the election of governors to be selected alternately from each of three regions in the state, Lowe's name was put forward for western Maryland. In 1850 he won the gubernatorial election, taking office in January 1851 for a term of three years—the youngest governor ever elected, having turned the required age of thirty years during the campaign in August 1850. After his term as governor, however, Lowe became increasingly disillusioned with sectional politics and supported southern rights. He was involved with the decision to burn the rail bridges the night of the Baltimore riot and soon thereafter left Maryland for Virginia, hoping to aid the Confederate cause in Richmond (sensing he could not lead Maryland out of the Union at that time). He spoke regularly to Confederate officials in Richmond and in December of 1861 gave an address to the Virginia legislature calling for southern forces to assist in the liberation of his state, as "'Marylanders love the Sunny South as dearly as any son of the Palmetto State...'" and would join the Confederacy if only given a chance.[27] Along with Bradley T. Johnson, a Confederate line officer also from Frederick, Lowe was one of the most vocal

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[27] Frank F. White, Jr., *Governors of Maryland, 1777-1970* (Annapolis, 1970), pp. 141–44; quotation p. 142. See also: Enoch Louis Lowe, "Letter to the Virginia legislature," in Matthew Fontaine Maury, *Captain Maury's letter on American Affairs...*, part of the microfilm series Selected Americana from Sabin's Dictionary of books relating to America, from its discovery to the present time (1862); Memoirs of Esther Winder Polk Lowe, MS 1949, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore; *O.R.* series II, vol. 1, pp. 569–70; and Paula Stoner Reed, "L'Hermitage: A French Plantation in Frederick County," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 97 (Spring 2002): 61–78.

proponents of a Confederate invasion of Maryland. Yet when Marylanders were given the chance, they did not flock to the southern cause.

Smuggling, spying, leaving Maryland to join Confederate forces, and objecting publicly to Union occupation were some of the most overt acts of opposition, but there were more subtle actions taken by white Marylanders too. Three young sisters were arrested in Frederick (although quickly released on parole) for singing "'Secession songs.'"[28] Other women waived handkerchiefs and cheered soldiers as they marched through the area—sometimes for the Union men and sometimes for the Confederates (during the Antietam and Gettysburg campaigns).[29] These smaller, less noticeable signs of support were reported by the soldiers as well, who noted mixed sentiments in the various hamlets of western Maryland in their own letters and diaries. Soldiers also observed that support for one cause or another varied practically from town to town and even from street to street at times.

Soldiers' accounts are useful for understanding civilians' outward reactions to events during the war; frequently citizens' sentiments do not appear in diaries—either because the individuals did not record their political thoughts or because the individuals carefully selected their words in print. Even more important, with the limited number of writings from private individuals that have survived the passage of time, the observations of outsiders are often the best way to obtain a sense of the level of complexity and variety in a large geographic area like western Maryland. Unfortunately the number of diaries from other parts of Maryland are limited, and fewer soldiers passed through those areas—leaving almost no accounts for the Eastern Shore or southern Maryland. However,

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[28] Middletown *Valley Register*, September 18, 1863.
[29] Frederick *Maryland Union*, June 26, 1863.

newspapers are also essential for revealing the pulse of the common citizen, and looking in particular at civilian-soldier interactions—as well as violence and crimes committed by civilians against one another—indicates in greater detail the identity crisis that Maryland citizens were facing during the war. In particular, reactions to Confederate troops seemed to drive additional Marylanders into the Union fold.

Union and Confederate troops moving through western Maryland in 1862 commented on the sentiments and actions of the civilians, behaviors that in turn—as seen in chapter three—influenced their opinions about the state's identity. The Sixteenth Mississippi Infantry, part of the Army of Northern Virginia, participated in the battle of Antietam, and two soldiers from the unit noted the sentiments of civilians in the region. Jefferson J. Wilson, a twenty-one-year-old private from Crystal Springs, Mississippi, and James Johnson Kirkpatrick, a twenty-four-year-old private and graduate of Washington and Jefferson College, recounted their experiences: on September 8 Wilson wrote from Frederick to his father, "[t]here is some good secessionists over here and as fine a people as I ever saw." But, on the whole. "they were nearly all Union people and treated us very cool...."[30] James Kirkpatrick recorded in his diary on September 10, "Very few symptoms of sympathy observable today. The houses are generally closed up as if deserted. In Frederick . . . [there] were some indications of favor, but the awe of being reported to the Yankees when we leave, no doubt, kept the manifestations of feeling in check. Whenever a flag of hankerchief was waved, the holder was standing far back in the house. Our soldiers greeted them very fondly." He added, "Middleton [Middletown]

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[30] Robert G. Evans (comp. and ed.), *The 16th Mississippi Infantry: Civil War Letters and Reminiscences* (Jackson, 2002), xxv, xxviii, 113 (first quotation), and 119 (second quotation).

was entirely Union, and some of the ladies expressed their opinions quite freely."[31] Other soldiers agreed that Middletown was particularly pro-Union, but generally sentiments varied from street to street or farmhouse to farmhouse as the soldiers went through western Maryland. Kirkpatrick's observation on the fear of being reported as a southern sympathizer was astute, and probably offers one explanation for why even those who did support the South did not rush to join the ranks of Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia when he entered Maryland—in that respect, Fred Markell was one of a few hundred individuals, not a few thousand.

The comments offered by Confederate troops in the summer of 1863 were markedly different from those of 1862, reflecting their disillusionment with the state and highlighting the transition that was occurring in Maryland's regional identity. Tally Simpson, of the Third South Carolina Volunteers, had grown quite cynical of civilians in the state. On June 28, 1863, he spoke of Hagerstown, "[t]here are some citizens there who manifested some sympathy for our cause, but the majority are unionists." He spent the better part of this letter to his aunt, however, detailing the foraging of his unit and the effects on the countryside of portions of western Frederick and most of Washington Counties:

> This whole country is frightened to death. They won't take our money, but for fear that our boys will kill them, they give away what they can spare. The most of the soldiers seem to harbor a terrific spirit of revenge and steal and pillage in the most sinful manner. They take poultry, hogs, vegetables, fruit, honey, and any and every thing they can lay their hands upon."

Simpson's own change of demeanor mirrored the change in his fellow troops; Confederates were tired of failed promises of Maryland's southern ties—words offered

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[31] Ibid., 114.

by men like Enoch Louis Lowe and Bradley T. Johnson and echoed by General Lee. And, given that Maryland was becoming more and more northern in the minds of Confederate soldiers, civilians here were not protected from what Simpson calls the "inconveniences and horrors of war." Foraging, and theft by soldiers, showed the changing opinion these men had of the "enemy" in Maryland—topics that will be viewed from the civilian perspective later in this chapter. Still, taking the war to the people was a common theme among other Confederate diaries in 1863, as Lee did not re-issue the same orders to be sensitive and respectful of Maryland civilians and their property as he had in 1862 when he had hoped to rally Maryland to the Confederate banner.[32]

The most telling Confederate comment is probably the observation of David Emmons Johnston of the Seventh Virginia. His description of the mixed sentiments came down harshly on the supposed dedication of Marylanders to the southern cause in 1862:

> In Frederick our hearts were made glad by unmistakable signs of friendship and sympathy. A bevy of pretty girls, singing 'Maryland, My Maryland,' on seeing our battle flag inscribed 'Seven Pines,' proposed 'three cheers for the battle flag of Seven Pines,' which were heartily and lustily given by us. In Middletown we met no smiles, but a decided Union sentiment was in evidence. In Hagerstown we observed indications and heard some expressions of Southern sentiment, but none that satisfied us that they were ready and willing to shed their blood for the Southern cause.[33]

For Johnston, Marylanders were not measuring up to expectations even in 1862.

Union soldiers commented on civilian sentiments in western Maryland too, and they also emphasized the mixed nature of reactions in the region. Jonah Franklin Dyer was the surgeon for the Nineteenth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry. Moving

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[32] Everson and Simpson, *"Far, Far from Home,"* all quotations are from 250–1.
[33] David E. Johnston, *The Story of a Confederate Boy in the Civil War* (Portland, Ore., 1914), 137–8.

through Frederick in 1862, he recorded "the people welcomed us as deliverers" when Union forces chased the Confederates out of town.[34] Writing about Frederick again in 1863, Dyer observed:

> [t]here are many good Union people about here and some violent secesh [secessionists]. Some shut up their houses or scowl at the windows, while others freely give what they have. One poor old lady stood at the door of her little shanty as the troops came by, handing out slices of nice soft bread to the soldiers. When it was almost gone she looked down the road, and seeing the countless multitude still coming, exclaimed in despair, 'dear me, there ain't half enough to go round!' Her will was good and in striking contrast to the behavior of some others.[35]

Dyer came through the area again on July 7, 1864, noting the entrepreneurial spirit of the people by that point in the war: "the people are much more liberal and will sell everything they have at a fair price."[36]

Dyer's fellow Union soldiers agreed with his assessment. James Harvey Kidd, a colonel with the Sixth Michigan Cavalry (a unit under George Armstrong Custer's command), described Frederick in a letter to his father as having "[s]ympathy encouragement, gloriously *loyal* Eden-like enchanting Maryland," adding "such demonstrations of sympathy & encouragement met here make us feel strong and willing to suffer."[37] Understandably, soldiers experienced the positive support of civilians who agreed with their cause more than those expressing negative feelings, who would have feared reprisals for expressing opposing sentiments, but nonetheless, soldiers of both armies wrote of mixed sentiments in the area.

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[34] J. Franklin Dyer, *The Journal of a Civil War Surgeon*, ed. Michael B. Chesson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), xv, 39 (quotation).
[35] Ibid., 90.
[36] Ibid., 102.
[37] Eric J. Wittenberg, *One of Custer's Wolverines: The Civil War Letters of Brevet Brigadier General James H. Kidd, 6th Michigan Cavalry* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2000), xi, 43 (both quotations).

Commenting upon Montgomery County, Francis Donaldson of the 118th Pennsylvania noted, "I usually derive information about the little towns through which we pass from the women who habitually stand in their doors and scowl at us as we pass by. There is not much Union sentiment in this country, I fear. The population of Rockville, when it is at home, I am told is between 4 and 5 hundred, may be more."[38] But Confederate artilleryman George Neese commented "Jefferson is in the Middletown Valley and in a pretty country, but judging from the sourish frowns that played over the faces of the female population as we passed through the streets this evening the village must be strong Union in sentiment." He did see one individual friendly to the Union cause, a "bright-faced lady standing in her room before a window waving a white handkerchief at us as we passed, though she did it in a manner as not to be observed by her neighbors."[39] This desire to mask one's sympathies for fear of being seen and reported to Union authorities, as mentioned earlier, was a common concern, particularly after the Treason Bill was passed by the Maryland General Assembly in 1862.

Perhaps the most honest expression of civilian sentiment was observed by prisoners of war who were marched through Maryland following battle. Louis Beaudry, the chaplain for the Fifth New York Cavalry, was captured at Gettysburg and marched back through Frederick County with the Confederate army. As such, his experience offers an interesting opportunity to see the sympathies from the other side. On July 5, 1863, he wrote, "Surrounded by these dirty hateful Greybacks, we rode on the pike toward Frederick City, as far as Mechanicstown, where we came up to Gen. Stuart."

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[38] Emphasis in original. *Inside the Army of the Potomac: The Civil War Experience of Captain Francis Adams Donaldson*, ed. by J. Gregory Acken. (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1998), 118.

[39] George M. Neese, *Three Years in the Confederate Horse Artillery* (New York: The Neale Publishing Co., 1911) 117–8.

Being relieved of their gear and horses, "we were driven through the roughest ways I ever saw, through brooks up the Catoctin Mountains. What few inhabitants live along these by paths, wept as they saw us prisoners and came to give us bread and other eatables."[40] These regions of western Maryland were the most mountainous sections of Frederick County where the fewest slaves were held, making the Union sentiment expressed in front of the Confederates more than likely genuine dismay at the prisoner's situation.

One aspect of war that readily changed civilian sentiments—for better or sometimes worse—was the relationship between citizen and soldier. Disputes between soldiers and civilians sometimes broke out and on occasion resulted in the death of one party. A New Market man was beaten in the street by a Union soldier for speaking out in favor of Jefferson Davis—or as the Unionist paper referred to it, "Squealing for Jeff."[41] In another instance, Calvin Lamar of Adamstown was killed by Union troops stationed in Point of Rocks in an altercation that involved a railway hand-car. Lamar and several friends used the hand-car to go to Point of Rocks, where Union soldiers asked to borrow the car. Lamar refused and eventually returned to Adamstown, but he and his friends were followed by the soldiers. Taunts and jostling occurred between the two groups, and in the process Samuel Webster, a soldier from New Hampshire, drew a pistol and shot and killed Lamar. Perhaps in the interests of keeping the peace and ensuring that justice was visible to the community, federal officers handed Webster over to Sheriff M. M. Haller for a civil trial.[42]

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[40] Louis N. Beaudry, *War Journal of Louis N. Beaudry, Fifth New York Cavalry: The Diary of a Union Chaplain, Commencing February 16, 1863*, ed. Richard E. Beaudry (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, 1996), 1, 51 (quotation).
[41] Frederick *Maryland Union*, June 18, 1863.
[42] *Middletown Valley Register*, July 26, 1861.

Not all problems were as severe; the *Easton Gazette* reported citizens were selling too much liquor to soldiers in the area, leading to trouble in the town as well as in the camps. Major William Kirby, commanding the First Regiment of Maryland Volunteers (Eastern Shore), issued a general order that restricted the sale and distribution (gifting) of alcohol to all officers and soldiers in the command without prior approval of the commanding officer himself. Punishment for violating the order was a sentence to labor for one month or, if impractical, to a jail term of the same length with only bread and water rations.[43] Alcohol led to problems in western Maryland too: a drunken soldier of the Eighteenth Pennsylvania shot Elias Grove through the neck. The soldier was arrested, although Grove apparently survived the encounter.[44]

Nor were Union soldiers the only source of difficulties for civilians. In fact, judging from all accounts, the Confederates were far more of a nuisance for Marylanders. Jubal Early's Raid in 1864 presented significant problems when the Confederate general demanded large levies in return for preservation of the cities of Frederick and Hagerstown. Early's men likewise pillaged private homes, taking money, watches, jewelry, clothing, and shoes in addition to horses, and other more military-oriented supplies. As the *Middletown Valley Register* recounted, "they committed every act in the catalogue of crime except murder, and this perhaps was only omitted for the want of a slight pretext." Citizens were not safe on the highways or in their homes, even after the cities turned over the money demanded.[45]

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[43] *Easton Gazette*, March 1, 1862.
[44] *Middletown Valley Register*, July 3, 1863.
[45] *Middletown Valley Register*, July 22, 1864.

Jacob Engelbrecht, the pro-Union merchant in Frederick, added his thoughts on the occupation and ransom of the city when Jubal Early's Rebels came in 1864. His diary entry for July 11, 1864, recorded:

> Captured again – Our old City of Frederick was captured by the Rebel forces under General Jubal Early on Saturday July 9th forenoon or rather morning. They first entered about 6 o'clock AM from the west. We had no army to protect us except 2 or 3000 while the Rebels had from 10 to 15,000 men. General Early levied a contribution [sic] on Frederick of 200,000$ [sic] which I am told was paid on Saturday. The money was got from the banks & the Corporation became responsible. About 8 o'clock AM on Saturday their wagon train commenced passing through town & it lasted 4 or 5 hours. 4 or 500 wagons must have passed. They burnt down the wagon yard east of town. Down at the Monocacy Junction they had a battle & a goodly number were killed & wounded on both sides.... Some of the secessionist stores sold out all their Stock of goods. N. D. Hauer's hat store was entered &robbed of all he had amounting to about 300$ [sic].... The robbing of horses about the county was general. Some estimate the value of the horses stolen at a million of dollars in the county. The soldiers stole from the farmers, money, meat, chickens, cattle, sheep, & anything that came in their way. These are awful times. One day we are as usual & the next day in the hands of the enemy; but whatever is the final issue, I say come weal or woe come life or death we go for the Union of the states forever one and inseparable.[46]

Engelbrecht lists the many items stolen or confiscated from the citizens and hints at the general privations that typically resulted after the passage of any troops but particularly the Confederates, echoing John Koogle. Soldiers took freely from the citizens of western Maryland, causing hardships throughout 1862–1865. And this type of treatment by southern soldiers helped push additional individual citizens towards support for the Union. It is important to note too, that while the Maryland landscape was scarred, there was not the same severity of damage as occurred in Virginia. Still, Marylanders

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[46] Engelbrecht, *Engelbrecht Diaries*, July 11, 1864.

experienced difficulties keeping their property secure and essentials like food stored away from the wandering soldiers, complicating their daily existence. Even if the plundering was less severe than what happened in Virginia, Confederate actions strengthened Unionist sentiment in Maryland.

Another significant problem, brought on by local vandals but also carried out by the Confederates in the 1862, 1863, and 1864 invasions, was horse theft and the ever-present requisitioning of foodstuffs from area farmers. Horses represented losses in the amount of hundreds or even thousands of dollars, and emptying the cupboards of a family was a much more personal type of warfare. "The Southern Chivalry," wrote the *Middletown Valley Register* sarcastically following the Battle of Antietam, "signalized [sic] their raid into Maryland by stealing, or buying for confederate scrip [sic], (which was practically the same as stealing) all the horses they could lay their hands on." Likewise, "The region of country between Sharpsburg and Boonsboro has been eaten out of food of every description."[47] In 1863 the Rebel forces confiscated wagons, horses, mules, *and the owners*, compelling three different men to travel with the army driving the teams and wagons that the Confederates later took with them back to Virginia (although the men were released).[48] What the Confederates did not complete in June and early July 1863, Union officials worked to accomplish with seizures of their own in late July.[49] Moreover, in 1864 Jubal Early's Confederate raiders, in combination with domestic horse thieves, further harassed citizens and their property.[50] In this, the Confederates were far

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[47] *Middletown Valley Register*, September 26, 1862.
[48] *Middletown Valley Register*, July 3, 1863.
[49] *Middletown Valley Register*, July 24, 1863.
[50] *Middletown Valley Register*, September 9, 1864.

more likely to propel undecided or apathetic individuals toward active support of the Union by pillaging the land.

One civilian took matters into his own hands, attempting to protect his property as best he could—including driving his team of horses into Pennsylvania and staying with friends for several weeks. John Koogle, born in 1830, lived with his wife, Rebecca, and children near Myersville in western Frederick County. He clerked at local stores, taught in the local schools, wrote wills, surveyed land, and did various agricultural jobs to earn a living. Throughout the war he regularly took care of his mother's farm in addition to his own property. In his diary entries for September 1862, Koogle recounted large numbers of Confederate troops coming through Frederick County just south of his property (Myersville is the next gap northward along South Mountain from Middletown). On September 7 he wrote, "Things look very serious, some people are leaving for Pennsylvania and others look very grave." Two days later he described how near the Confederates came to his home, after which he too fled by driving his horse team north into Pennsylvania. He stayed with various acquaintances in Fairfield and Abbotstown, Pennsylvania, before returning to Myersville on September 16 and 17. He had heard the Confederate troops were retreating, but instead he returned on the day of the Battle of Antietam. Apparently his horses were safe, however, and the following day he went to Sharpsburg to see the battlefield, describing the scenes of the wounded and dead.[51]

In July 1863 John Koogle again notes the passage of troops through the area, including five soldiers who decided to camp on his property after the battle of Gettysburg. He does not mention whether the soldier took anything while passing

[51] John Koogle diary, biographical information from pages 163-4; quotations from page 42. The Koogle diary is available at the Maryland Room, C. Burr Artz Main Library, Frederick County Public Library, Frederick, Maryland.

through, but he did record descriptions of the breastworks created by the soldiers and some of the destruction around town. In 1864 when Early moved through the county, Koogle lost three horses valued at $375 that were taken by the Confederates. He simply wrote "hard times, looks like worse are coming" as "[t]he county is running full of rebels, not much work done, horses all gone." By 1864, then, John Koogle and his family were having difficulty managing the farm and hauling goods, one of his major sources of income, because of the seizure of his horses and property, a common theme for the state's leading region in livestock.[52]

Other forms of transportation were regularly affected as well: the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad suffered significant damage from Confederate forces under Stonewall Jackson's command in 1861 and 1862, and Confederate soldiers destroyed the railroad bridge at Monocacy in the days leading up to the Battle of Antietam to help prevent Union forces from using the rail lines to move more rapidly to western Maryland.[53] In general, Confederates did not endear themselves to civilian or business interests in Maryland.

Not all the violence and issues were between civilians and soldiers. Some problems arose between citizens with differing allegiances. Jacob Englebrecht records fires being set in the night all across Frederick in early 1861—even before the outbreak of war and continuing into May—that some attributed to secessionists in the city.[54] In June of 1862 a Hagerstown mob attacked George Gruber's jewelry's store and a restaurant owned by William Rhodes, "gutting" the store. Although the cause of the

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[52] Ibid., 57, 72.
[53] Destruction of the rail bridge is reported in *Middletown Valley Register*, September 26, 1862.
[54] Engelbrecht, *Engelbrecht Diaries*, see entries for February, March, April, and May 8, 1861, when the courthouse was burnt destroying some county documents, pp. 891–898.

mob's actions is unattributed, the paper claims both men were "violent secessionists" and Gruber had a son then serving in the Confederate ranks.[55] In another instance later in 1862 on the Eastern Shore, the printing office of the *Easton Star*, a southern-sympathizing paper, was ransacked by unnamed individuals. The press was damaged and typeset scattered for over a hundred yards on all sides of the building. Although the press itself was still thought to be functional once repaired, the cross-town rival *Easton Gazette* was quick to editorialize, after offering a little sympathy for any financial losses resulting from the attack, that "Those who have advocated Secession have sown the wind and they are sure to reap the whirlwind."[56] Later the *Gazette* compared secession to the mob rule that has been thrust upon the nation, making it clear that the editors accepted property damage as one of the unavoidable costs of war for those complicit in starting the conflict—as they saw it—almost mirroring the policies William T. Sherman in his decision to take the war to the southern people in Georgia and the Carolinas.

Civilian violence was not limited to property damage, however. Charles Johnson, a blacksmith in Woodsboro, was involved in a disagreement with Hiram E. Smith. Smith wanted Johnson to "hurrah for Jeff. Davis," according to the newspaper account. Johnson refused, resulting in a verbal fight that turned physical when Jackson drew a knife. Smith drew a pistol and shot Jackson in the back, the bullet entering his shoulder and coming out of his chest. It is unclear why Jackson was shot in the back, as full details of the event had not been obtained, nor did the paper report on the final outcome

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[55] *Middletown Valley Register*, June 20, 1862.
[56] *Easton Gazette*, November 20, 1862.

of what was suspected to be a mortal wound. Smith was imprisoned in the county jail awaiting the result of the injury to set the charges for his trial.[57]

By 1863 a lot of citizens were just plain tired of being thrust into the midst of armies and battles. Lutie Kealhofer was a young woman who lived with her parents in Hagerstown. She expressed the almost universal disillusionment that came with the war over time. On July 2, 1863, she wrote in her diary:

> These are stirring times—one hour we are under Jeff Davis—the next under Abraham & before the good Union people have time to congratulate themselves upon their release from Rebel rule in dashes a squad of these impudent Rebels & Jeff claims us again. So the world goes.[58]

The toll of working in hospitals, protecting property and family, and trying to negotiate the demands of making a living in a border state where half the commercial connections had been severed by the war wore down everyone.

As mentioned throughout, the dissenters and southern sympathizers were a minority. In 1862 the Maryland General Assembly passed an act to provide several thousand dollars relief to the families of the Massachusetts soldiers killed during the Baltimore Riot, expressing their regret at the event that had transpired one year before.[59] This step towards mending relations with northern states went hand-in-hand with other displays of loyalty. Union meetings to rally supporters were advertised regularly in the newspapers, particularly after 1862. Likewise interspersed with rally event notices were stories about the fundraisers and meetings of the Ladies' Union Relief Association, which

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[57] *Middletown Valley Register*, October 4, 1861.
[58] Quotation from Lutie Kealhofer's diary entries, reprinted in Fletcher M. Green, "A People at War: Hagerstown, Maryland, June 15–August 31, 1863," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 40 (Dec. 1945): 251–60; quotation on p. 257.
[59] *Easton Gazette*, May 17, 1862.

had a presence on the Eastern Shore as well as in western Maryland.[60] Service in the dozens of hospitals that sprang up in farmhouses, barns, churches, and fields around Sharpsburg and in northern Frederick County following the Battles of Antietam and Gettysburg respectively also speak to the dedication of a number of Maryland men and women in helping the Union war effort and in caring for the casualties of both sides.[61]

Moreover, newspapers began talking about the changing sentiments in the state, particularly on the Eastern Shore—long a slaveholder stronghold. The *Easton Gazette* of November 1, 1862, described "The Maryland Rebels Conquered" in an editorial comment on the changed attitudes of local rebel citizens since the failure of Lee's army in the western portion of the state just a little over a month earlier. The *Gazette* noted how the civilians that used to boast for Jeff Davis "have ever since claimed to be the real quintessence of loyalty," giving the editors "renewed hope of the restoration of the Union," a sentiment they also now perceived in their rival (and southern-sympathizing) paper the *Easton Star*, which was promoting the continuation of the war (instead of peace and recognition of southern independence) on the terms that the war aims not involve abolition.[62] A letter to the editor of the *Easton Gazette* from a traveling businessman reported a marked difference on the Eastern Shore between sentiments in 1861 and 1863.[63]

Over and above union meetings and changing attitudes as reported in the papers, the number of soldiers who fought for the Union speaks volumes about Maryland's

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[60] *Easton Gazette*, April 25 and December 5, 1863; Middletown *Valley Register*, June 12, 1863.
[61] See: Kathleen A. Ernst, *Too Afraid to Cry: Maryland Civilians in the Antietam Campaign* (Mechanicsburg, Penn., 1999), and Kari Turner, "Caring for the Civil War Sick and Wounded," in *Mid-Maryland: A Crossroads of History*, Michael A. Powell and Bruce A. Thompson, eds., (London, 2005), 111–19.
[62] *Easton Gazette*, November 1, 1862.
[63] *Easton Gazette*, June 6, 1863.

support for the Union cause and the state's transition to a northern identity. As stated in chapter two, upwards of 46,000 Marylanders (8,700 of whom were black) fought for the Union. On the southern side, it is estimated that 22,000 to 25,000 Marylanders fought in Confederate armies, primarily in units from various other states.[64] Looking specifically at Maryland units, however, the disparity grows (42 Union units to 12 Confederate—almost a 4 to 1 ratio, instead of a 2 to 1 ratio in rosters) in favor of service for the Union cause. Table 4.2 shows the Union units formed during the war, including the United States Colored Troops, and Table 4.3 shows Maryland's Confederate units formed during the war. The chart of Union units shows that men from all over the state, not just the western counties, served during the war, and that a substantial number of men came from Baltimore (both free blacks and ex slaves enlisting starting in 1863 but also from the immigrant and native white populations as well).

In addition to these volunteer units, Maryland furnished many of the soldiers required to meet the federal government's quotas without having to resort too heavily to drafts. In the fall of 1862 Allegany, Washington, Cecil, and Kent Counties had all exceeded their quota with the number of volunteers recorded for those counties, requiring no additional draft or call for volunteers whatsoever. Note, too, that these counties are geographically spread across the state, with one located on the Eastern Shore, one in

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[64] These estimated figures can be found in: Harold Manakee, *Maryland in the Civil War* (Baltimore, 1961), 108. Note that Manakee's figure of over 62,000 Marylanders in Union uniform mistakenly added the USCT and sailors figures on top of Frederick Dyer's numbers rather than realizing that they were already included. See also: Charles Branch Clark, "Recruitment of Union Troops in Maryland, 1861–1865," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 53 (June 1958): 153–79; Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (Des Moines, Iowa, 1908), Part I, 11, 25, 248–53. Although he does not enumerate the Confederates in his list, Daniel Hartzler has spent years compiling a comprehensive roster of Marylanders in the southern armies. His use of some Lost Cause sources like *Confederate Veteran*, which occasionally contained more boasting than fact, casts some doubt on the complete accuracy of his list, although with the lack of Confederate documentation and enlistment rolls, there is little surviving evidence to fill in the wholes of the history of Maryland's Confederates. See, Daniel D. Hartzler, *Marylanders in the Confederacy* (Westminster, Md., 1994).

Table 4.2

Union Units from Maryland

Unit	Formed	Organized	Origin of Men (no. of companies, if known)	Strength	Mustered Out
First Inf. Reg't, MD Vols.	May 27, 1861	Baltimore	Baltimore city; Baltimore, Howard, Frederick Counties		July 2, 1865
Second Inf. Reg't, MD Vols.	Sept., 1861	Baltimore	Baltimore city		July 17, 1865
Third Inf. Reg't, MD Vols.	Feb. 17, 1862	Baltimore, Williamsport	Baltimore city, Washington County (some from western Virginia)	9 companies	consolidated June 1864
Fourth Inf. Reg't, MD Vols.	July-Aug., 1862	Baltimore	Baltimore city (8), Carroll County (1)	9 companies	May 31, 1865
Fifth Inf. Reg't, MD Vols.	Sept., 1861	Baltimore	Baltimore city (7), Cecil County (1), Frederick County (1), and town of Elkton (1)	10 companies	Sept. 1, 1865
Sixth Inf. Reg't, MD Vols.	Sept. 8, 1862	Baltimore	Carroll County (2), Cecil County (3), Frederick County (1), Washington County (1), Queen Anne's County (1), Baltimore city (2)		June 20, 1865
Seventh Reg't, MD Vols.	Aug., 1862	Baltimore	Washington County (2), Frederick County (3), Harford County (2), Baltimore County (1), Carroll County (1)		May 31, 1865
Eighth Reg't, MD Vols.	Aug., 1862-April, 1863		Cecil County (1), Frederick County (1), Baltimore City (5)	7; 3 co.'s of draftees and sub. added later	May 31, 1865
Ninth Reg't, MD Vols.	June-July, 1863	Baltimore	Baltimore city (8); Baltimore County (1)	(6 month men)	Feb. 24, 1864
Tenth Reg't, MD Vols.	June-July, 1863	Baltimore		(6 month men)	Jan. 29, 1864
Eleventh Reg't, MD Vols.	June 16, 1864			5 co.'s (100 day men)	June 15, 1865
Twelfth Reg't, MD Vols.	June 30, 1864	Baltimore			Nov. 14, 1864
Thirteenth Reg't, MD Vols.	April 8, 1865		formed from some recruits and veterans of First Reg't Potomac Home Brigade		May 29, 1865

Purnell Legion Inf., MD Vols.	Oct., 1861	Pikesville Arsenal	Baltimore city (5), Cecil County (1), Baltimore County (1), Somerset County (1), Worcester County (1)	9 companies	Oct. 24, 1864
First Reg't, Potomac Home Brigade Inf., MD Vols.	end of 1861	Frederick	Frederick County (4), Balitmore city (1), Washington County (3); 2 companies combined men from Baltimore, Frederick, Carroll Counties and Baltimore city	10 companies	May 29, 1865
Second Reg't, Potomac Home Brigade Inf., MD Vols.	Aug.-Oct. 1861	Cumberland	Allegany County (8), town of Hancock (1), town of Piedmont in Virginia (1).	10 companies	May 29, 1865
Third Reg't, Potomac Home Brigade Inf., MD Vols.	Oct., 1861-May, 1862		Allegany County (5), town of Hagerstown (1), Baltimore city (1), Frederick County (1); May 1864 (2) companies added from Ellicott's Mills in Howard County and Monrovia in Frederick County respectively		May 29, 1865
Fourth Reg't, Potomac Home Brigade Inf., MD Vols.	winter 1861-1862		Hagerstown (1), Baltimore city (1), Frederick County (1); consolidated into Third Reg't Pot. Home Brigade	3 companies	Aug. 11, 1862
First Reg't, Eastern Shore Inf., MD Vols.	Sept., 1861	Cambridge	Dorchester County (3), Caroline County (3), Talbot County (1), Baltimore city (1), Somerset County (1)		Feb. 23, 1865 consolidated with 13th MD Inf.
Second Reg't, Eastern Shore Inf., MD Vols.	Oct.-Dec. 1861	Chestertown	Kent County (5), Baltimore city (1), Harford County (2)		Jan. 23, 1865 consolidated with 1st Reg't Eastern Shore
Fourth Reg't Inf., USCT, MD Vols.	July 15-Sept. 1, 1863	Baltimore			May 4, 1866
Seventh Reg't Inf., USCT, MD Vols.	Sept-Oct, 1863	Baltimore	across Maryland		Nov. 15, 1866
Ninth Reg't Inf., USCT, MD Vols.	Nov. 1863	Camp Stanton, Benedict			Nov. 10, 1866
Nineteenth Reg't Inf.,	Dec. 15, 1863	Benedict	Southern Maryland and Eastern Shore		Jan. 15, 1867

USCT, MD Vols					
Thirtieth Reg't Inf., USCT, MD Vols.	Feb.-Mar., 1864	Benedict	Southern Maryland and Eastern Shore		Dec. 19, 1865
Thirty-ninth Reg't Inf., USCT, MD Vols	March, 1864	Baltimore	Baltimore city		Dec. 4, 1865
118th Reg't Inf, USCT	Oct. 19, 1864	Baltimore			
Patapsco Guards, Independent Inf. Company, MD Vols.	Sept. 25, 1861	Ellicott's Mills			Aug. 17, 1865
Baltimore's (Dix's) Light Inf.	Nov.-Dec. 1861			2 companies	May 24, 1862 consolidated with 3rd Reg't Inf.
Second Delaware Reg't Inf.		Elkton	Elkton, MD (1)	1 company	
First Reg't Potomac Home Brigade (Cole's) Cavalry, MD Vols.	Aug.-Nov., 1861		town of Frederick (3), town of Cumberland (1); expanded to 12 companies total Feb. 1864 enrolled from all parts of MD		June 28, 1865
First Reg't Cavalry, MD Vols.	Aug., 1861-June, 1862	Baltimore, Williamsport	Baltimore city (5), town of Cockeysville and Baltimore city (1); 2 additional companies in Pennsylvania and 2 in Washington, D.C.		Aug. 8, 1865
Second Reg't Cavalry, MD Vols.	July-Aug., 1863		Baltimore city (3), Howard County and Balt. city (1), Washington, D.C. (1)		Jan.-Feb., 1864
Third Reg't Cavalry (Bradford Dragoons), MD Vols.	late 1863		Baltimore city (4), paroled ex-Confederate prisoners (who later deserted) (4), Frederick County and Baltimore city (1), Baltimore city and re-enlisted 2nd MD Cav. (1)		Sept. 7, 1865
Purnell Legion Cav.	Sept.-Nov. 1861		town of Pikesville (2), Baltimore city (1)		transferred to 8th Reg't Inf. Nov. 1864
Smith's Independent Co. Cavalry	Oct. 15, 1862	Snow Hill			June 30, 1865

Battery A, MD Light (Rigby's) Artillery	Aug.-Sept., 1861	Baltimore and Pikesville			Mar. 11, 1865 consolidated Battery B
Battery B, MD Light (Snow's) Artillery Vols.	Sept.-Oct., 1861	Baltimore and Pikesville	Cecil County		July 3, 1865
Battery D, MD Light Artillery	Nov. 29, 1864	Baltimore			June 24, 1865
Baltimore Battery, MD Light (Alexander's) Artillery	mid-1862	Baltimore			1865
Battery A (Second), MD Light (Junior) Artillery	July, 1863	Baltimore			Jan. 19, 1864
Battery B (Second), MD Light (Eagle) Artillery	July, 1863	Baltimore			Jan. 16, 1864

Harold R. Manakee, *Maryland in the Civil War* (Baltimore, 1961), 108–33; Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (Des Moines, Iowa, 1908), 25; 248–253.

Table 4.3

Confederate Units from Maryland

Unit	Formed	Organized	Origin of Men (no. of companies, if known)	Strength	Mustered Out
First MD Inf.	early 1861	Point of Rocks and Richmond, VA			Aug. 17, 1862
Second MD Inf.	Sept. 28, 1862	Winchester, VA	organized with some veterans from First MD		April 9, 1865
Company B (Maryland Guard), Twenty-first Virginia Reg't	May 21, 1861	Richmond	Baltimore city	109 men	May 24, 1862
Zarvona's Zuaves	June, 1861		Baltimore city	60 men	June 10, 1862
First MD Cavalry	May 15, 1862			8 companies by winter 1862-1863	
Second MD Cavalry	March, 1862			6 companies Sept., 1863	
Company K, First Virginia Cavalry	May 14, 1861	Leesburg, VA		75 men	
Company B, Thirty-fifth Virginia Battalion (White's) Rangers	June-Oct., 1862	Charlottesville, VA	Poolesville, MD		
First MD (Dement's) Artillery	July 10, 1861	Richmond	Baltimore city, Eastern Shore, southern Maryland		
Second MD (Baltimore Light) Artillery	Oct. 1861	Centreville, VA			
Third MD (Ritter's) Artillery	Jan. 14, 1862	Richmond			surrendered Meridian, MS May 10, 1865
Fourth MD (Chesapeake) Artillery	early 1861				

Manakee, *Maryland in the Civil War*, 133–41.

central Maryland, and the remaining two in western Maryland. Baltimore City at that time had to draft only 46 men to meet its quota, and that was prior to the enrollment of African Americans. Frederick County had to draft 259 of its 1,354 quota. Overall, the state had been credited with 13,344 volunteers to that date and its quota was set at 19, 344 men.[65]

The final action that pushed Maryland into the North was the state constitution of 1864. The document was drafted by a convention that met for several months over the summer, and it included several controversial provisions. First, it mandated taxes be allocated for public education, with facilities established in each district of every country in the state. Baltimore long had a respectable system of public education, including schools for blacks, and many citizens in the city resented the state's imposition of new laws and taxes on a system that was already successful. Others in the state simply resented the raise in taxes. The constitution also required the registration of all voters, and anyone who had expressed sympathies or loyalties, acted to support the Confederate cause or aid the enemy in any way, or who had travel to, traded with, or corresponded with the South were excluded from voting. Moreover, an "iron-clad" oath was required for all voters affirming the individual's past and future loyalty. And anyone seen trying to register or vote who was known to have opposed the government was to be reported to the provost marshal. As this provision was intended to do, it disenfranchised a substantial number of Maryland's white citizens—those who could not pass the qualifications and those who were absent when the registry took place or who were afraid they would be denied and simply did not go to the polls.

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[65] Report on the draft in Maryland can be found in the Middletown *Valley Register*, October 17, 1862.

The third notable provision was the section regarding the emancipation of the state's slaves. This clause was debated for only one week during the whole constitutional convention—that lasted from April until September—despite its being the provision that irritated most white Marylanders. In a vote held in early 1864 to decide if a state constitutional convention would be called, there was not significant opposition to the proposal and once again Union troops ensured that only loyal voters would participate. Few Marylanders actually voted—in Baltimore only 9,284 individuals participated—which appeared to result from unconcern or apathy as much as anything else. Moreover, voters were voting "for" or "against" the convention, not for the specific delegates. This had dire consequences, however, in that many of the Unionist delegates were hand-selected. Once the convention was approved by the voters of the state, they convened in Annapolis in April with a radical agenda that included these three controversial provisions, and most importantly, the goal of ending slavery in Maryland. Many of the delegates hoped for patronage appointments in the federal government for their "good work" in reforming Maryland for the radicals. But as Barbara Fields writes, once the federal government did not have to intervene and support Maryland, all radical Republican ideas fell by the wayside (as will be seen in the next chapter).[66] With the narrow passage of the Constitution in October, Maryland's slave population was freed effective on November 1, 1864.[67]

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[66] Barbara Jean Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 133–35; Carl Everstine, *The General Assembly of Maryland*, 239–49; and Charles Lewis Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution: Negro Emancipation in Maryland, 1862–1864* (1964; Baltimore, 2004).

[67] William Starr Myers, *The Self Reconstruction of Maryland, 1864–1867*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series 27 (Baltimore, 1909): 1–15; William Starr Myers, *The Maryland Constitution of 1864*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series 19 (Baltimore, 1901); Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, especially chapter six; and Everstine, *The General Assembly of Maryland, 1850–1920*, 181–98; 239–74.

Given the anti-black sentiment discussed earlier in this chapter, this provision frustrated Marylanders despite their predominately northern and pro-Union outlook by that point in time. The constitution's ratification by such a narrow victory—a mere 375 votes across the state in a total of 59, 973 votes cast—demonstrates the depth of anti-black sentiments among whites. In fact, one of the strongest reasons for passage of the new constitution had to do with the large number of Union soldiers that were allowed to vote—these were supposed to be Maryland natives who voted from the field (because they could not all have furloughs at once), but in reality there was not a strong effort made to verify residency at the time of enlistment. Thus the narrow passage of the constitution did not indicate a reversal of Union sentiment in the state; it was instead an expression of anti-black sentiments in Maryland. [68]

Nonetheless, with its passage the constitution changed Maryland society, as over 87,000 black Marylanders were now free (but not without difficulty in ensuring that freedom for themselves or their children, as will be discussed in the conclusion). It also ensured that ex-Confederates would be prohibited from participating in the final months of the war and the redefinition of Maryland as an industrial, urban, and *free* society. With the end of slavery, there could be little doubt that Maryland's last vestige of southern identity had been erased. Maryland had become a northern state.

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[68] William Starr Myers, *The Self Reconstruction of Maryland*, 9.

Conclusion

Maryland as the North

At the close of the war in April 1865 Maryland's cultural identity resided with the North. Maryland had, in reality, been slowly but surely moving in that direction all along, although the state's commitment to slavery and the associated racial hierarchy had left blinders on many citizens and made the clashes of people and ideologies all the more traumatic for white Marylanders' psyches in the 1850s and especially in 1861–1862. In fact, although Maryland was reconstructed by 1865, race relations would continue to play a major role in state politics for decades to come—and as a political and social issue, it allowed a minority of southern-sympathizing whites and ex-Confederates to, from time to time, re-animate the ghost of Maryland's southern heritage. The United Daughters of the Confederacy and other disciples of the Lost Cause were active in Maryland in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, but they were not the dominant culture. The brief ascendency of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s and 1930s was the result of national economic and social tensions, which in Maryland were exacerbated by the initial stirrings of the Civil Rights Movement. Thus, the temporary rise of the Klan should not be considered part of a return to "southernness" on the part of some Marylanders—they remained a small minority of the state's population throughout the period—but instead should be seen amid the national growth of the Klan in those decades and locally as a response to direct agitation of racial issues in Maryland, and particularly amid the strong African American community in Baltimore. Moreover, race relations were problematic in northern cities by then as much as they were an endemic and often deadly concern in the South, so in this respect race relations were not purely a southern problem by the mid-

twentieth century. In Maryland, blacks were able to testify in court by 1866 and could vote beginning in 1870; these rights were hard fought but also were not withdrawn later by Black Codes and other extralegal means—clearly not a southern pattern. Indeed industry, urban development, and economic diversification would continue to be the hallmarks of Maryland society throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Despite the begrudging transition during the war, and for some a little longer than that, Maryland clearly bore the cultural markers of the North.

This chapter will examine the events of 1865 to 1867 covering the end of military reconstruction in the state and Maryland's "redemption" by the Democratic Party with the constitution of 1867. While their "redemption" did entail the rise of the Democrats and establishment of voting rights for ex-Confederates, the after effects of these events bore limited resemblance to the period of Redemption in many of the southern states. Arguably, Reconstruction for Maryland began in November of 1861 with the rise of the Union Party, but it clearly had commenced by 1864 with the new state constitution. The constitution of 1864 disenfranchised Confederates and established, among other things, a stronger state commitment to public education. Many of these elements were contested by whites, even those who were Unionists, and general frustrations with federal and state policies during the war helped coalesce whites from different factions by 1866. One of the most important elements binding ex-Confederates to Unionists was black suffrage. This political odd couple, however, held based on the issues of race and led to the downfall of the Union Party (which after the war re-named itself the Republican Party). The constitution of 1867 restored voting rights and amnesty for ex-Confederates while at the same time it ensured that the rights of African

Americans would be limited, setting the stage for segregation that lasted into the mid-twentieth century.

The chapter concludes by highlighting some of the long-term implications of Reconstruction for Maryland. As has been mentioned, the lingering conceptions of southern identity lasted into the twentieth century—and for some even today—although it is important to note these individuals are the minority in the state. Maryland's northern identity was fixed during the Civil War. Furthermore, these Marylanders' efforts to re-establish a southern identity, in the end, only reflected all the more clearly the growing "northernness" of the state. The backlash by a limited number of white Marylanders was in essence their own personal struggle to come to terms with the fact that the rest of South had disowned them, recognizing the very northern identity they struggled to deny (it is human nature to fight most vehemently when individuals know they are losing).

Although the re-writing of the "Maryland Line's" history began in the late nineteenth century with men like Bradley T. Johnson and W. W. Goldsborough, the most active and widespread opposition to Maryland's northern identity manifested itself in the 1930s—precisely when Charles Houston and Thurgood Marshall began to challenge legal segregation with the Teacher's Salary Cases in Montgomery County in 1935. The growing racial animosity and pressure from black Marylanders to extract the last vestiges of Maryland's antebellum southern culture from the state (the racial attitudes of whites) was one critical reason resistant white Marylanders pushed through the legislature an act making the old Confederate anthem "Maryland, My Maryland" the official state song in 1939. What otherwise seems an odd event in the modern history of a northern state was in the end but one element of the ongoing Lost Cause struggle in Maryland. That the

song was adopted as the official state song seventy-eight years after it was written—and seventy-seven years after it became a joke and an anathema to southerners from virtually every other state in the Confederacy—is but one more irony in the story of southern-sympathizing Marylanders trying to restore the state's southern "honor." However, the fact that the song is still sung at the beginning of the Preakness on national television every year baffles the mind—bearing in mind that they are very selective in which verses the United States Naval Academy Glee Club uses (see Appendix A for the full lyrics of the song). Although to that end, the story of the state song in many ways encapsulates the story of Maryland's "subculture" southern identity from the nineteenth century down to today—a clear minority in a northern society.

How northern, then, was Maryland in 1865? In the late antebellum period the state clearly experienced significant industrialization, particularly in the central and western portions of the state, at the same time that Baltimore grew into the fourth largest city in the nation. Immigration to the port of Baltimore was substantial in the 1840s and 1850s, and a sizable number of these Irish and German immigrants settled in the state—especially in Baltimore. Moreover, in the antebellum decades Maryland had a handful of abolitionists, including William Gunnison who was active in Baltimore, at the same time the state participated in the African colonization movement by founding its own colony, hoping to avoid the health concerns of the national society's poorly located settlement and convince free blacks in the state to leave.[1] Maryland had hundreds of mills and factories, reputable iron forges, and growing secondary industries that supported the state's forward "progress" that mirrored patterns in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New

[1] Roger Bruns and William Fraley, "'Old Gunny': Abolitionist in a Slave City," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 68 (Fall 1973): 369-382.

York, and other northern states. Agricultural reforms in the traditionally tobacco-dominated regions had propelled the state's agriculture towards a more diversified model, also similar to the North, particularly in the central and western portions where slavery had never dominated society.

Although they were northern in 1865, Marylanders had begrudgingly moved in that direction leading up to the war and during the conflict. As previous chapters demonstrated, Maryland also exhibited a number of southern patterns in the antebellum decades. Perhaps most importantly, Maryland was a slave state, and despite the growing number of free blacks, Maryland politicians and citizens—including many of those who did not own slaves in the western and central portions of the state—defended the institution. Slavery as a labor system—but really slavery as a method of preserving white dominance of the social hierarchy—was the last hold-out connection for Maryland's southernness. Even in the tumultuous 1850s when Marylanders strove to maintain neutrality in the national discourse in the hopes of keeping the increasing hostility of sectional politics from overwhelming hopes of compromise, Marylanders frequently ended their comments with a conditional clause usually along the lines of "however, we support the South if forced to choose." Planter politicians and the "old families" of Maryland were still influential enough in the legislature in 1861 to set the tone for political debate in the state, ensuring that even the Know-Nothing animosities were directed at foreigners and Catholics instead of slaveholders.

By April of 1861 then, when events in South Carolina carried much of the Upper South out of the Union, Maryland had features of both northern and southern cultures. In reality, it was state trying to harmonize the rhythms of both sections, which was in truth a

virtually impossible task. This also meant that its citizens did not fully comprehend the multitude of changes they experienced in the last two decades of the antebellum years. Marylanders really were not sure who they were at the outbreak of the war, and the events of the first two years of the war ended up dictating the dynamics of that learning process and guiding Maryland towards a more northern model. The Baltimore Riot forced the hand of President Abraham Lincoln and federal military officials—acting to protect the nation's capital—but it also forced the hand of Marylanders too, setting the terms within which they would be allowed to discover themselves in the critical war years. Soldiers were among the first to observe these subtle changes, particularly because the war forced them to challenge their assumptions about southern and northern culture faster than it did civilians back home in the northern or southern states. But Maryland civilians themselves were exhibiting new patterns by 1863—partly because of the danger of arrest, imprisonment, or retaliation by the soldiers, but also because the Unionist government elected in 1861 would guide the state in an exacting and loyal course through the end of the conflict, including rewriting the state constitution, disenfranchising the disloyal, and ending slavery in the state once and for all on November 1, 1864. A state that existed in the national consciousness, and in the minds of its own citizens, as a southern state in 1861 had become—even if reluctantly so—a northern state by 1865.

However, an ardent, yet limited, number of Marylanders expressed their dissatisfaction with the "northern" label throughout the war, and a number of them continued to attempt to recast Maryland in a "southern" perspective thereafter. The disciples of the Lost Cause—both male and female—were active in the state and vehemently pushed for the recognition of Maryland's "southernness," especially in the

postwar years. Still, this was only a portion of the state's citizens; African American Marylanders, well over 170,000 of them, reacted much more positively to this new-found cultural identity. During the war some 8,000 of them joined the United States Colored Troop units raised in the state, and following the war black Marylanders built on their pre-existing networks and communities in the city of Baltimore to develop an even stronger African American cultural identity in the state. These communities, in fact, became the nucleus of African American leadership and support systems that helped individuals weather the storms of racism and segregation well into the twentieth century.

Maryland did experience military Reconstruction, albeit briefly. Although not directly administered within the five military districts of the postwar South, not unlike Kentucky and Missouri, it was considered part of the Department of Washington and was overseen by federal officials there. Likewise, the rapidity with which the state government was changed to adhere to federal policies, and in turn how quickly redemption occurred via ex-Confederates in the state, is reminiscent of experiences in Virginia and Tennessee (states who also experienced significant war-time occupation and Reconstruction "experiments" prior to the close of hostilities in April 1865). In these respects Maryland was similar to other parts of the south, but in a somewhat different context. The outcome, specifically, was drastically different from the South, with African Americans retaining the right to vote after 1870.[2]

However, just as some historians have been in haste to label western Maryland Unionist (or most of Maryland as Unionist) without fully acknowledging the depth of dissent in Maryland during the war, the story of Maryland's Reconstruction has become

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[2] Barbara Jean Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 1985),134.

blended into a larger southern narrative that obscures details pertinent to each of the individual states respectively—for example, the fact that the post-Reconstruction experience differed significantly, and moreover that Maryland really was culturally redefined by the war, a redefinition that was not an uncontested nor easy process. Reconstruction was different in all the states, as were the movements for redemption by local Democrats (and the racial implications of those movements including the level and frequency of violence and the social and political space for some African Americans to be elected to state and federal offices). Recovering the idea that there were several different Reconstruction experiences for southerners, and that the border states did not necessarily follow any of those patterns either, is just as important as the recognition of the variations in the Old South cultures in order to fully understand the ways identity are constantly negotiated and re-negotiated in any given society. This is essential, in particular, for cultural aspects that are typically lumped together as elements (or definitions) of southern culture—to the inclusion or exclusion of places like Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and even East Texas.

For instance, in his classic study of Reconstruction, Eric Foner argues that Maryland's experience was like that of other borders states, and specifically that once federal troops arrived early in the war the state "experienced the disintegration of slavery from within," and along with the opposition of free blacks to slavery, that "the rapid growth of emancipationist sentiment among the white population" helped to undermine the institution. As evidence of the latter statement he quotes Judge Hugh Lennox Bond, an ardent Union Party man and one of the state's few die-hard abolitionists during the war, as referring to the Union soldiers as an "'army of ideas'" that brought the message

of liberation to the state and who "found a receptive audience among small farmers and the manufacturers and white laborers of Baltimore." Foner goes on to state, "bolstered by loyalty oaths administered to voters by army provost marshals, the Unionists committed to immediate and uncompensated emancipation swept the Maryland elections of 1863 and called a constitutional convention to reconstruct the state."[3] While this is one way to interpret events, beneath the author's careful selection of words is the reality that abolitionism was never the dominant philosophy in Maryland, not even during the war when the Union Party controlled the state elections with the assistance of federal troops stationed at the polling places and through the disenfranchisement of all suspected disloyalists.

Moreover, even the leading members of the Union Party—including Governor Augustus Bradford—pushed for *compensated* emancipation during the war, and they did this only after it became clear that President Lincoln would end slavery throughout the nation when he issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. Although the document did not apply to Maryland, the end was in sight and Marylanders decided to push for compensation—an offer Lincoln initially made to all the border states in March and May, 1862, but which none accepted at that time thinking that they were loyal regions and that immediate emancipation would not be imposed on them.[4] The demand for compensated emancipation from the federal government was debated well into 1867 by the General Assembly, with support from the disenfranchised ex-slaveholders as well, over the need to push for compensation for the emancipation of the state's slaves. Emancipation had occurred on November 1, 1864, the effective date of the Union Party's

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[3] Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863–1877* (New York, 1990), 18.
[4] James M. McPherson, *Crossroads of Freedom: Antietam* (New York, 2002), 66.

constitution of 1864—a document that was created at the behest of the state legislature, firmly dominated by Unionists elected after federal control of the state was complete, and barely ratified "by the people" in the fall of 1864 in a close election where many citizens were not permitted to vote and Union soldiers, both residents of Maryland and those stationed in the area, were allowed to participate. Foner also overlooks the fact that Maryland was still under the supervision of federal troops into 1866, effectively the same direct military control utilized in other parts of the South, and that the movement to amend or even repeal the constitution of 1864 and the registry laws that disenfranchised so many Marylanders was discussed almost as soon as the war ended in 1865 (and came to fruition in the fall elections of 1866 when Democrats regained control of the state).[5]

What, then, happened between April 1865 and the "redemption" of Maryland for the Democratic Party—in the legislature and governor's chair by January 1867 and with the re-written state constitution in the summer of the same year? The story of Maryland's 1867 constitution tells the story of one version of Reconstruction and demonstrates that the state's moderates, who sometimes were disenfranchised under the broad requirements of the registry laws, as well as the actual ex-Confederates were both frustrated by federal occupation and willing to work together to regain control of the state and to ensure that political equality was not extended to Maryland's freedmen.

The previous chapter addressed the narrow passage of the constitution in 1864—by just 375 votes—and the requirements included therein of taking an "ironclad oath" in addition to proving that an individual had never aided or even spoken in support of the

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[5] See in particular Foner's accounts of the border states in *A Short History of Reconstruction* on pp. 19, 86, and 182–83; the latter two references he recognizes that Maryland and the border states "blazed the trail of Redemption" (182) in contrast to his comments about the ascendency of emancipationist and Unionist sentiments earlier in the work.

Confederacy during the war. These measures were, of course, difficult for many merchants to overcome and were nearly impossible for anyone who expressed southern sympathies at any point in the war—in effect, disenfranchising a significant portion of Maryland voters. Voting rights was one of four issues that were important in the immediate postwar years; public education and re-establishing a state militia will be discussed momentarily, but other major debates were centered around political rights for blacks. In January 1865 in his address to the General Assembly, Governor Augustus Bradford requested that the necessary supporting legislation be enacted to implement the new constitution, including financial support for such newly created offices as those of lieutenant governor and attorney general. But Bradford also asked the legislature to take action "toward the procuring of compensation from the national government for slaves emancipated under the state constitution, in accordance with President Lincoln's message of March 6, 1862."[6] Bradford also forwarded the Thirteenth Amendment to the General Assembly for ratification, which passed the house but barely passed the Senate (on a straight party vote, 11 affirmative votes from Union Party members to 10 negative from the Democratic Party ranks).[7] However, this was not the end of the debate over the freedmen.

During the legislative session that ran from January to March 1865, the General Assembly also passed a bill in late March that removed "all disabilities" from the period of slavery for freedmen but at the same time clarified the political and social position of

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[6] William Starr Myers, *The Self Reconstruction of Maryland, 1864–1867*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXVII (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1909), 15. See also: *Proceedings and Documents of the Senate, 1865*, volume 754, p. 469, available through the Archives of Maryland Online at: http://www.msa.md.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000754/html/am754--469.html.

[7] Myers, *The Self Reconstruction of Maryland*, 17.

blacks by creating additional restrictions that prevented them from testifying against whites in court—a law that dated to the antebellum decades in the state—in addition to stating that blacks could be sold into a work contract for the same length of time as a white man would be confined in prison for the same crime.[8] Moreover, after the ratification of the constitution in October 1864 but before the document took effect on November 1, a number of slaveholders took advantage of pre-existing legislation that allowed slave children to be bound out for a term of service (up to the age of majority) as apprentices, contracts that could be created without the parents' consent. Since Maryland blacks were still slaves, they could not protest these arrangements. Some contracts were even created after November 1, but the state courts and legislature upheld the contracts over the rights of the freedmen, and many blacks were forcibly separated from their children by the very law that was supposed to set them and their families free.[9]

This brings up another major element to the story, the fact that Maryland was still under military occupation throughout 1865. The provost marshal's office, operated by U. S. Army officers, existed in Baltimore until January 31, 1866. In the fall of 1864, however, Major General Lew Wallace saw the contracts being created to avoid emancipation and tried to use the military to create a stop gap solution to the abuses of the system to protect African Americans. Wallace issued General Orders No. 112 on November 9, 1864, that created a Freedmen's Bureau (anticipating the federal version) headquartered in Baltimore. The bureau, under the command of William M. Este, was charged with providing "'remedies'" for the freedmen, who were "under special military protection" until the state legislature reconvened in January (when Wallace intended to

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[8] Myers, *The Self Reconstruction of Maryland*, 18. See also: Carl N. Everstine, *The General Assembly of Maryland 1850–1920* (Charlottesville, Va., 1984), 190–204.
[9] Myers, *The Self Reconstruction of Maryland*, 20–21.

bring the situation to their attention and demand resolution). Complaints would be submitted by the freedmen to provost marshals throughout the state, and military officials would investigate. The bureau was short-lived, however, as Wallace disbanded the organization in January 1865 after submitting his report to the legislature (the result was the bill mentioned earlier that removed "disabilities" for freedmen, but which did not invalidate the contracts already created).[10]

Federal military power was put to use again in the spring of 1865 following Abraham Lincoln's assassination on April 14. General W. W. Morris, temporarily filling in for Lew Wallace, ordered martial law in Baltimore on April 15, and he instructed all paroled Rebel prisoners entering the city to report to the nearest provost marshal to be searched, registered, and provided with a pass. Additionally, these Rebels were required to remove their Confederate uniforms and replace them with civilian garb within twelve hours after registering with the provost marshal. When Wallace resumed command a few days later, he upheld the orders; martial law was relaxed in Baltimore only after the capture of John Wilkes Booth at the end of April.[11]

Moving ahead to 1866, the last moment where armed federal intervention was a possibility came in late October 1866 when Maryland was preparing for what appeared to be a very contentious election. General U. S. Grant, General in Chief of U. S. Armies, conveyed his concerns over Maryland in a letter to President Andrew Johnson. Grant asked General Canby, then in charge of the Department of Washington, which included Maryland, to investigate whether or not hostilities were volatile enough to warrant military intervention to prevent another riot in the city. Grant told the president that he

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[10] Myers, *The Self Reconstruction of Maryland*, 21–23, 84; quotation from p. 22; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 131–66; for details on the Freedmen's Bureau see p. 148.
[11] Myers, *The Self Reconstruction of Maryland*, 24.

did not think it wise for the federal government to intervene in what appeared to be a struggle for control of the state legislature among various political factions, but he added that if a riot did occur, federal troops would be ready to respond from Washington—a role that Grant had no problem authorizing if disorder were already present.[12]

In fact, the trouble arising with the election of 1866 brought up a political debate in the General Assembly that dated back to the war years. The state militia had been disbanded, and the 1864 constitution had no provisions for re-creating a state militia force, partly because the Union Party saw the militia as a possible threat to federal control if state units were allowed to maintain arms and drill during the war. With the contested election in the fall of 1866, which actually was uneventful but raised awareness of the need for a police force, legislators again proposed a state militia to control rowdy mob behavior in the spring 1867 legislative session. Thanks to dissatisfaction with the registry laws, requiring Marylanders to register to vote and take the requisite oaths to qualify, the Union Party, or Republicans, lost control of the legislature in November 1866 paving the way for significant reform.

The "quiet revolution" saw Democrats take a two-thirds majority of the seats in both houses of the General Assembly that November, and Governor Thomas Swann had already indicated his Democratic proclivities in pushing for the re-enfranchisement of ex-Confederates, completing the ascendency of the Democratic Party. This redemption inaugurated a number of bills aimed at undoing war-time Reconstruction efforts in the state. In January 1867 when the new Democrat-controlled legislature began its session, a general amnesty bill was passed to restore the right to vote or hold office to all ex-southern sympathizers and Confederates in the state who had not already been pardoned

[12] Myers, *The Self Reconstruction of Maryland*, 70–73.

by President Johnson. The iron-clad oath was replaced with a general oath of allegiance to the present government for all voters, without reference to past activities or proclivities. The legislature likewise authorized the creation of a new state militia force—all actions that led Republican and Union-loving Marylanders to cry foul.[13]

With control of the legislature, Democrats moved forward on an even more aggressive agenda: they debated amending the constitution but decided the best way to rescind the "evils" perpetrated by the Republican-created war-time constitution was to create a new one entirely. With the newly expanded franchise extended to ex-Confederates and the general discontent with the Union Party, the election held in April 1867 to decide on calling a state constitutional convention passed handily—the largest opposition coming from Frederick County.[14] The constitutional convention met that May, and with no Republicans attending in protest of the re-enfranchisement of the ex-Confederates, public education reforms initiated in the 1864 constitution were dropped in favor of lowering taxes, among other items. Voting rights were likewise ensured for all white males in the state.

Debates in the newspapers that summer highlight the rhetoric used to drive voters to support or not support the new constitution. Opponents highlighted the fact that the new document would undermine the public education now available to all Maryland children, but especially to white children, which they argued was the very foundation of democracy.[15] Supporters of the constitution argued that taxation to pay the federal

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[13] Myers, *The Self Reconstruction of Maryland*, 76–84. For example, Bradley T. Johnson was pardoned by President Johnson in April 1866; Frederick *Examiner*, April 11, 1866.

[14] Myers, *The Self reconstruction of Maryland*, 76–77; Frederick *Examiner*, April 17, 1867. Since the largest opposition came from Frederick County, coverage of the debate and the associated issues focuses on newspapers from Frederick County.

[15] See for example: Frederick *Examiner* March 21, 1866 and August 21, 1867. They also opposed the creation of the state militia: see, Frederick *Examiner* July 17, 1867.

government's war taxes was bad enough, but to pay for a system of public education—one that included schools for blacks—was too much, particularly when, as they contended, upwards of 70,000 (white) individuals were recently disenfranchised—what they termed taxation without representation, overlooking the fact that over 180,000 African Americans were still disenfranchised. They also argued that Republican rule was trying to impose black suffrage on the nation, an idea that at the time most Marylanders found to be an anathema.[16] In reality, a handful of Marylanders like Judge Hugh Lennox Bond favored black suffrage, but most whites did not and the Republican Party in Maryland was not going to touch the political bomb of black voting.[17]

In fact, the Frederick *Citizen* was quite vitriolic in its attacks on blacks in an attempt to stir up white fears for the consequences of black suffrage. In the July 12, 1867, issue a letter to the editor commented on the lack of the "loyal" Republicans in the streets for the July 4 celebration of the preceding week, but noted the entertainment would have suited them had they come:

> The only sensation in town on the Fourth was the exhibition in the streets of a well dressed, educated monkey by an organ-grinder who held this creature *in slavery!* This monkey, which stood erect, in the image of man, showed much accomplishment, and no one knows to what extent he might be elevated, if the Freedman's Bureau would take him in charge, and give him the benefit of Gregory and Bond's companionship.[18]

The tongue-in-cheek remark made reference to the schools established for blacks in Maryland, and particularly in Baltimore, starting in 1864 (which will be discussed later in

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[16] See: Frederick *Examiner*, May 16, 1866 and Frederick *Republican Citizen* (actually the Democratic organ in the city), February 2, 1866; March 16, 1866; May 4, 1866; May 24, 1867; July 12, 1867, July 26, 1867; and August 2, 1867. Supporters also pushed for a renewed effort at obtaining compensation for emancipated slaves from the federal government; see, Frederick *Republican Citizen*, July 6, 1866.
[17] Brugger, *Maryland, A Middle Temperament*, 308.
[18] Frederick *Republican Citizen*, July 12, 1867. Emphasis in original.

the chapter). The ability of the black Marylanders to rise to full citizenship, however, was clearly not a possibility in the mind of this particular author. Not that he, or she, was alone in that sentiment. A week later the paper editorialized "it is inexpressibly disgusting to see how the radicals in Maryland are fawning, cringing and reverently bowing before their black Idol—in fact, getting down on their knees and begging permission to lick the dust off the *nigger's* foot."[19] Just prior to the election the paper ran another column calling whites to rally and save "White America for white men!"[20]

The fear tactics worked—and the *Citizen* called for a celebration the night of September 20, 1867, with a grand procession of torch-bearing white men that probably struck fear in the hearts of black Marylanders and Republicans alike.[21] Although the vote in Frederick County was very close again—a majority in favor of the constitution by just 300 votes—the decision across the state was decidedly in favor of the constitution (with a majority of over 23,800 votes).[22] Redemption in Maryland was complete with the constitution of 1867—and the reign of Democratic Party in the state, particularly for the office of governor, has held ever since, with only a handful of Republicans winning the seat over the last 150 years, and only one time for more than a single term.[23]

It is worth noting that Maryland did not ratify the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866—and actually sent a report to all the states and the president detailing why they resolved not to ratify it—and likewise refused to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870.[24] Freed blacks were not alone in their fight for basic civil rights, however, as a

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[19] Frederick *Republican Citizen*, July 19, 1867. Emphasis in original.
[20] Frederick *Republican Citizen*, September 6, 1867.
[21] Frederick *Republican Citizen*, September 20, 1867.
[22] Frederick *Examiner*, September 25, 1867.
[23] Theodore R. McKeldin held the office for two terms during the 1950s.
[24] Myers, *The Self Reconstruction of Maryland*, 85–87; Brugger, *Maryland, A Middle Temperament*, 306; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 133–4.

strong African American community had developed in Baltimore amid the state's largest portion of free blacks prior to emancipation. And although the "black codes" limiting black testimony against whites, restricting travel, and requiring blacks to find employment, among other restrictions, were not challenged before Congress passed the civil rights act in 1866, there were opportunities for freedmen to improve their conditions. As will be discussed later with figure 5.1, the black population in the state concentrated in Baltimore following the war. Additionally, in August 1864 the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People was formed to assist with creating schools for blacks. By the end of the war the organization had opened seven schools in Baltimore, and although they struggled financially, by 1867—the peak of their activity—the organization had opened over a hundred schools on the Eastern Shore and in Baltimore, including a normal school in Baltimore to train black teachers.[25] Moreover, the Freedmen's Bureau was active in the state seeking to help African Americans establish themselves.[26]

Before addressing the backlash to fears of racial equality that surrounded the Lost Cause mythology in Maryland and the continuing dissent by a minority of southern-sympathizing Marylanders, one should note the continuing trends towards a more northern model of wage labor and industrial society that continued to transform the state during and after the war. These dynamics further illustrate that for the majority of Marylanders, and as far as the rest of the nation was concerned, the state had fully transitioned to the northern side of the cultural map.

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[25] Brugger, *Maryland, A Middle Temperament*, 308–9.
[26] See accounts of the Freedmen's Bureau's activities in Frederick in the Frederick *Republican Citizen*, April 12 and August 2, 1867.

Although Maryland businesses suffered in the first two years of the war, by 1863 and going into 1864 many had rebounded. Transportation companies like the C & O Canal and the B & O Railroad suffered interruptions and destruction of property throughout the war, but the iron industry in the state, which found a new market making materials for the Union navy and armies, and also the clothing and textile industries prospered as a result of the war, despite initially losing southern markets to the Union blockade.[27] And, as mentioned in chapter one, the canning industry in Maryland continued to lead the nation into the twentieth century. By 1890 Baltimore city was still "the largest manufacturing center in the United States of ready-made clothing, oyster canning and fruit packing, shirts and overalls, fertilizers, straw goods and cotton duck...."[28]

Moreover, some of the trends in agriculture discussed in the antebellum years continued into the post war years, moving Maryland further and further from a dependence on mono-crop agriculture. At a time when the rest of the South was still focused on cotton production, despite the collapsing market prices, the declining prices for tobacco in the postwar years further pushed Marylanders toward truck farming and dairy farming. Between 1880 and 1890 all tobacco producing counties listed in the census data showed a decrease by over 50 percent in the tobacco acreage, with the exception of Harford County where there was an increase from 52 to 154 acres—not a major tobacco producing center in the state when the counties of southern Maryland had between 5,000 and 10,000 acres in 1880. Increasing transportation connections—by steamer and through rail connections to Delaware for the Eastern Shore, and through new

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[27] Richard Ray Duncan, "The Social and Economic Impact of the Civil War on Maryland," Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1963, 1–70 passim.
[28] Members of Johns Hopkins University, *Maryland: Its Resources, Industries and Institutions*, 341.

rail lines and turnpikes in the southern portion of the state, allowed farmers to specialize in crops that grew best in the available soils, including strawberries, peaches, and other fruits in the old tobacco-producing regions of the state.[29] Additionally, these new transportation routes opened up the Eastern Shore to new arrivals who found the region quaint and relaxing—the start of a tourism industry that is strong even today.[30]

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 address the demographic changes in the state. Although the white population shows minimal growth everywhere but in Baltimore, even in relation to immigration, the black population remains virtually stagnant or declines over the same years in every other county except Baltimore City, where it almost doubles. In the two decades following the Civil War, black Marylanders moved from the rural regions of the state to Baltimore in search of economic opportunities as well as for the protections afforded by the long-standing institutions among the black community there, especially the African American churches.

This brings the story back to that small group of die-hard Confederates who set about to cast the tale of Maryland's southern identity in the strongest possible light beginning almost immediately after hostilities ended,. Although Maryland culturally no longer looked or behaved like the rest of the South, these disciples of the Lost Cause fought to ensure the state, and the ex-Confederate soldiers from the state, were properly recognized in the larger Lost Cause narrative of the war—almost as compensation for the fact that they had already, in reality, lost the state economically and racially to the North.

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[29] Members of Johns Hopkins University, *Maryland: Its Resources, Industries and Institutions*, 159–171.
[30] Brugger, *Maryland, A Middle Temperament*, 318–9.

Table 5.1

Maryland Population from 1860 to 1880

	1860		1870		1880	
County	**White**	**Black**	**White**	**Black**	**White**	**Black**
Allegany	27,515	1,133	37,370	1,166	36,463	1,549
Anne Arundel	11,704	12,196	12,725	11,732	14,649	13,877
Baltimore	46,722	7,413	55,024	8,363	72,766	10,565
Baltimore (City)	184,520	27,898	227,794	39,558	278,584	53,716
Calvert	3,997	6,450	4,332	5,533	4,842	5,696
Caroline	7,604	3,525	8,343	3,758	9,600	4,166
Carroll	22,525	2,008	26,444	2,175	28,706	2,286
Cecil	19,994	3,868	21,860	4,014	22,644	4,464
Charles	5,796	10,721	6,418	9,318	7,700	10,848
Dorchester	11,654	8,807	11,902	7,556	14,634	8,476
Frederick	38,391	8,200	39,999	7,572	42,962	7,520
Garrett*					12,063	112
Harford	17,971	5,444	17,750	4,855	21,385	6,657
Howard	9,081	4,257	10,676	3,474	11,741	4,399
Kent	7,347	5,920	9,370	7,732	10,400	7,205
Montgomery	11,349	6,973	13,128	7,434	15,608	9,150
Prince George's	9,650	13,677	11,358	9,780	13,965	12,486
Queen Anne	8,415	7,546	9,579	6,592	12,067	7,189
Saint Mary's	6,798	8,415	7,218	7,726	8,244	8,690
Somerset	15,332	9,660	10,916	7,274	12,974	8,694
Talbot	8,106	6,689	9,471	6,666	11,736	7,329
Washington	28,305	3,112	31,874	2,838	35,495	3,066
Wicomico**			11,396	4,406	12,943	5,073
Worcester	13,442	7,219	10,550	5,869	12,522	7,017
State Totals	515,918	171,131	605,497	175,391	724,693	210,230
* Garrett County created in 1872 from Allegany County.						
** Wicomico County created in 1867 from parts of Somerset and Worcester Counties.						

Bureau of the Census, *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)* (1883; New York: Norman Ross, 1991), p. 395.

Table 5.2

Foreign-born Residents of Maryland in 1870 and 1880

County	1870	1880
Allegany	7,969	6,993
Anne Arundel	895	830
Baltimore	9,274	9,864
Baltimore (City)	56,484	56,136
Calvert	25	33
Caroline	75	211
Carroll	1,203	915
Cecil	1,060	875
Charles	77	115
Dorchester	32	114
Frederick	1,411	1,121
Garrett		788
Harford	1,206	1,335
Howard	1,018	879
Kent	322	283
Montgomery	492	369
Prince George's	529	570
Queen Anne	117	251
Saint Mary's	84	62
Somerset	53	42
Talbot	169	312
Washington	851	620
Wicomico	37	30
Worcester	29	58
State Total	83,412	82,412

Bureau of the Census, *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)* (1883; New York: Norman Ross, 1991), p. 435.

They felt by explaining the lack of response to Lee's call for troops in 1862 and the disintegration of the "Maryland Line" during the war (which was partly an issue because there were too few Maryland units to form a full brigade in the first place) that they could at least redeem the history of the state so that Maryland's "southern honor" was maintained.

The Frederick *Examiner* described the mindset and dedication of the ex-Rebels in the western portion of the state in July 1867: "The rebels of Maryland are certainly entitled to some credit, for the votaries of the 'lost cause' in the other States [sic] are not half so bold and defiant." The editors continued, "Like a certain member of the Constitutional Convention who remarked in this city a short time ago that he 'always was a rebel' and that this 'Government ought to be braken up.'[sic] they are determined to live and die rebels, and finally go to the grave with the rebel uniform on."[31] This attitude was certainly true for men like Bradley T. Johnson.

Bradley T. Johnson was the leader of Maryland's desperation Lost Cause movement. Johnson left Maryland in May 1861 and helped organize what became the First Maryland Infantry Regiment (C.S.) in June. But the regiment was short lived—it disbanded in the fall of 1862 over internal disagreements with Confederate authorities regarding the terms of enlistments (some companies were enlisted for one year and others for the length of the war, which led to animosity and confusion on the part of individual soldiers). Although the dissolving of the unit had nothing to do with their service record on the battlefield, the termination of the First Maryland at the same time Marylanders failed to rise up in support of General Robert E. Lee's movement into the state "cast a

[31] Frederick *Examiner*, July 24, 1867.

shadow over Maryland's true devotion to the South's struggle for independence."[32] As a result, after the war southern Marylanders felt the need to overcome this negative reputation, and Johnson led the charge by actively engaging the postwar debate through the literature of the Lost Cause.

Johnson participated in various efforts to redeem Maryland through writing articles for the *Southern Historical Society Papers*, speaking at the commemoration events for new Confederate monuments at various battlefields (and for the Confederate Monument dedicated in 1903 in Baltimore), and through addresses given to various organizations throughout the rest of his life, including the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC).[33] Johnson wrote to defend Maryland Confederates and explain the troubles surrounding Maryland's occupation (in an effort to justify the few citizens who joined Lee) as well as the reasons for the disbanding of the First Maryland. As one historian writes, once "Southerners began constructing a Confederate identity that threatened to exclude those from the border states, Johnson responded by asserting, from 1863 until his death in 1903, Marylanders' qualifications as good Southerners."[34] But Johnson had a second objective as well; he

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[32] Kevin Conley Ruffner, "Lost in the Lost Cause: The 1st Maryland Infantry Regiment (C.S.)," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 90 (Winter 1995): 425–45; quotation from p. 426. See also: Kevin Conley Ruffner, *Maryland's Blue & Gray* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997); and Thomas E. Will, "Bradley T. Johnson's Lost Cause: Maryland's Confederate Identity in the New South," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 94 (Spring 1999): 5–29.

[33] See, for example: Bradley T. Johnson, "The Maryland Line in the Confederate Army," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, 52 vols., (1876–1959), hereinafter referenced as *SHSP*, 11: 21–26; Johnson's address at the commemoration of the Maryland Confederate Monument at Gettysburg in November 1886, *SHSP*, 14: 429–446; Bradley T. Johnson, "Memoir of the First Maryland Regiment," *SHSP*, 9: 344–49; and "The South's Muesum," *SHSP*, 23: 354, 364–72. The monument in Baltimore will be discussed later with the activities of Maryland's UDC. In addition to Johnson's writings and speeches, see: W. W. (William Worthington) Goldsborough, *The Maryland Line in the Confederate Army. 1861–1865.* (1900; Gaithersburg, Md., 1987). I would argue the works of J. Thomas Scharf also fit this category. See: J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland from the earliest period to the present day*, 3 vols., (1879; Hatboro, Pa, 1967).

[34] Will, "Bradley T. Johnson's Lost Cause," 5.

tried to devise a plan for the New South that allowed the region to industrialize without becoming an industrial society and one that could incorporate wage labor with control of the black population, all while defending slavery and adhering to the "history" of the original goal for southern independence at the outset of the war.[35]

While he did not succeed in the latter objective, he was infinitely more successful in defending his native state's southern identity than he could have imagined in the 1880s and 1890s. Arguably, he did more to convince southern zealots in the UCV, UDC, and other groups of Maryland's yearning to join the Confederate cause by his words following the war than he did during the war through his service in the Confederate army, including his suggestions to Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis that convinced them to attempt to "liberate" the state during the war in 1862. His arguments even appear today in some less scholarly works on the state. However, while Maryland was divided on the issue of secession, the belief that "the legislature was known to be nearly unanimously true to the South" and that "three-fourths were ready to act" even in late April and early May 1861clearly does not hold water given the history of that session reported by contemporaneous sources. It was at precisely that same session of the General Assembly when legislators refused to vote on secession and denied they even had the authority to do so—the origins of the myth of Maryland's "failed secession," or lack of an opportunity to vote on secession, can be traced back through time in a straight line to Bradley T. Johnson.[36]

But, Johnson did not act alone. The United Daughters of the Confederacy were active in Maryland almost from the inception of the group, with the first UDC chapter

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[35] Ibid., 5–6.
[36] Bradley T. Johnson, "Memoir of the First Maryland Regiment," *SHSP*, 9: 344–49, quotations from pp. 345 and 348 respectively.

(No. 8) being organized in Baltimore in 1895. Charter members of the group included several women who had been imprisoned during the war, as well as the wives of men who were also imprisoned, including Mrs. Charles Howard and Mrs. Henry M. Warfield.[37] The UDC held semi-annual conventions in the state well into the 1930s and helped establish memorials to Confederate soldiers (through subscriptions and their own endeavors), including the statue "Gloria Victis," a monument depicting an angelic being upholding a weary and wounded Confederate soldier (dedicated in May 1903).[38] While there has yet to be a study done on the UDC in Maryland, there were branches of the organization throughout the state, including several in Baltimore and Frederick, and additional chapters in Poolsville, Easton, Hagerstown, Rockville, and Chesapeake City (Cecil County), among other cities.[39] Still, these were rather insular activities, and they did not challenge state politics or attempt to alter the dominant northern culture of society, they merely crafted a subculture where these individuals controlled the creation and celebration of "their" state history.

Just as there is not yet a study of the UDC in Maryland, there is no study of the second Ku Klux Klan's activities in Maryland during the first half of the twentieth century (or the first wave of the Klan from 1865 to1869). There were apparently some 72 chapters in Maryland by 1922 with over 33,000 members (still a small percentage of the state's total population).[40] George Callcott, in his history of twentieth century Maryland, states that "in the 1920s [Maryland] had one of the largest state memberships,"

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[37] *Confederate Veteran*, 3: 303, 331–2.
[38] *Confederate Veteran*, 11: 133, and cover page for March issue; and also *SHSP*, 29: 132–8.
[39] See mention of these chapters in *Confederate Veteran*: vol. 20: p. 62 (Poolesville); 16: 498 (Chesapeake City); 29: 73 (Hagerstown); 22: 233 (Rockville); 5: 602 (Easton); 17: 167, 267 (Frederick).
[40] See the collection description for Records of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Klan No. 51, Mt. Rainier, Maryland, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, available at: http://www.lib.umd.edu/archivesum/actions.DisplayEADDoc.do?source=MdU.ead.histms.0091.xml&style=ead .

and that "there had been sixteen lynchings" since 1884.[41] While violence towards blacks in Maryland was one of the precipitating factors for the re-emergence of the Baltimore chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the mid-1930s, and was clearly a cause for concern, these figures pale in comparison to the number and severity of lynchings that took place in the South over that same time span. In 1900 alone there were 115 lynchings, 106 of whom were black, and in 1920 there were 53 blacks lynched.[42] Moreover, the recent and most definitive history of the second Klan does not discuss Maryland as a state of significant activity or importance on the national scale.[43] Given context, these backlash movements by a minority of the state's whites do not undermine the state's northern identity but instead reinforce the strength of that new identity. This is particularly true when one looks at the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) society in Maryland, which was relatively active until 1875—when a re-enrollment procedure for national membership erroneously deleted state members who did not re-file and led to the general decline of the organization throughout the country. The GAR, organized for the benefit of veteran soldiers of the Union armies, had 84 posts in Maryland located throughout the state.[44]

Despite the definitive northerly track of the state for the last 150 years, the fact that the fight over Maryland's role in the Lost Cause and in southern culture broadly still goes on today by a handful of individuals and amateur historians is not surprising. In

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[41] George H. Callcott, *Maryland & America 1940 to 1980* (Baltimore, 1985), 145.
[42] John B. Boles, *The South Through Time: A History of an American Region*, vol. 2, third ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ, 2004.
[43] Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York, 1994).
[44] See the list of Maryland posts available at the Library of Congress website: http://www.loc.gov/rr/main/gar/appendix/maryland.html. See also: Stuart McConnell, *Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill: 1992), especially p. 32 for explanation of the decline of the GAR in Maryland and other states.

fact, the story of the song "Maryland, My Maryland," written in 1861, captures the essence of some white Marylanders' decades long battle to cast Maryland as a southern state even after the war. Written by James Ryder Randall in 1861 as pro-Confederate propaganda to encourage Maryland to secede during the Civil War, it became a rallying standard for southern armies and a popular song during the war. The ten stanzas contain surprisingly vitriolic lines:

> The despot's heel is on thy shore,
> Maryland, My Maryland!
> His torch is at thy temple door,
> Maryland, My Maryland!
> Avenge the patriotic gore
> That flecked the streets of Baltimore,
> And be the battle queen of yore,
> Maryland! My Maryland!

And later:

> I hear the distant thunder-hum,
> Maryland, My Maryland!
> The Old Line bugle, fife, and drum,
> Maryland, My Maryland!
> She is not dead, nor deaf, nor dumb-
> Huzzah! She spurns the Northern scum!
> She breathes! She burns! She'll come! She'll come!
> Maryland! My Maryland![45]

The song was inspired by the Baltimore riot, and the patriotic gore refers to the blood of Marylanders spilled on the streets during the riot (but not the blood of the Massachusetts troops killed in the event). The entirety of the poem, which was quickly set to the tune of "O Tannenbaum," is a call for Maryland to throw off the tyrant Lincoln and join the state's southern sisters in the fight. As mentioned in chapter three, the song was very popular among Confederate troops, and they sang the song as they crossed the Potomac in 1862 and 1863, although with less belief in its message after Marylanders failed to join

[45] First and last (ninth) stanzas. Written by James Ryder Randall from Louisiana in April 1861.

their standard during the Antietam Campaign. But the song continued to have a life of its own both during the war and afterward.

An article in the Easton *Gazette* commented that Randall "was laboring under a great hallucination" when he created the song, and Unionist Marylanders re-wrote the lyrics with their actions in the Antietam Campaign. Mockingly reported in parallel to the original version, the *Gazette* wrote: when "General Lee, with a host of men...came swarming up out of the muddy Potomac like the frogs of Egypt out of the sacred Nile singing 'Come to thine own heroic throng'" oh Maryland, My Maryland, the states' citizens responded "'Not Lee nor Jeff can make her come, Maryland, My Maryland!'"[46] The Frederick *Maryland Union* chimed in with their own version equally humorous to Union souls:

> The rebel feet are on our shore,
> Maryland, My Maryland!
> I smell 'em half a mile or more,
> Maryland, My Maryland!
> Their shockless hordes are at my door,
> Their drunken Generals on my floor,
> What now can sweeten Baltimore?
> Maryland, My Maryland!

And closed with:

> To get thee clean—tis truth I speak—
> Would dirty every stream and creek
> From Potomac to Chesapeake,
> Maryland, My Maryland![47]

While the Gazette used humor to drive home their point about the annoying Rebel hordes that invaded the state, the Middletown *Valley Register* offered anothern version that

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[46] Easton *Gazette*, September 27, 1862.
[47] Frederick *Maryland Union*, November 6, 1862. For the reader's enjoyment, the original as well as two alternate versions written by Marylanders can be found at the end of this chapter.

drives home the fact that most Marylanders were approaching the war as northerners by 1862:

> Lee and Jackson tried a raid,
> In Maryland, my Maryland,
> Expecting Brothers to their aid,
> From Maryland, my Maryland.
> To Pennsylvania they were bound,
> To forage on our Union ground;
> But all the[i]r hopes we did confound
> In Maryland, My Maryland.[48]

The Union ground was Maryland, and the song goes on to praise the glorious sacrifice of Union soldiers in defense of the nation (see Appendix B for the full lyrics). But the Maryland *Union* summed up Marylanders' sentiments best by noting, "during the week of terror, when the 'gray backs' held undisputed possession of our town, the beautiful air of 'Maryland, my Maryland,' was played and sung until it lost its charm and became a nuisance."[49]

Oddly enough, however, the song had not fully lost its charm, particularly for southern-sympathizers who struggled in the postwar years to convince their fellow southern nationalists to remember the Maryland of hopeful 1861, not the disappointing image of the state in 1863. In fact, the racist language of the pro-Confederate song widened the appeal among white Marylanders in the 1930s who were feeling increasing pressure from the African American Marylanders to end Jim Crow. Partly in response to the Teacher's Salary Cases in Montgomery County in 1935, the beginning of the NAACP's legal attack on segregation and the testing ground where Charles Houston and Thurgood Marshall devised what ultimately culminated with *Brown v. Board of*

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[48] Middletown *Valley Register*, November 21, 1862.
[49] Frederick *Maryland Union*, September 25, 1862.

Education in 1954, it was proposed that "Maryland, My Maryland" become the official state song of Maryland.[50] Thus, in 1939, a pro-Confederate anthem became the official state song of a northern state.

Despite the postwar backlashes and wartime resistance, Maryland's path to a northern cultural identity was determined by the convergence of antebellum trends that struck a unique chord in the border states, and particularly in the half slave, half free state of Maryland. Although its own citizens were not fully aware of the consequences of the changes taking place in their society, they were forced to confront their dual heritage in the first two years of the war, both of their own accord and because of the circumstances of federal intervention within their vital border territory. Most Marylanders accepted the redefinition of their state as a northern place, a change that took place largely in 1862 and 1863 and was spurred into the collective national discourse by soldiers of both armies. Some dissented and fought that new identity, even after the war. But Maryland had become the North, and it would stay in the North.

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[50] See Mark V. Tushnet, *The NAACP's Legal Strategy against Segregated Education, 1925-1950* (Chapel Hill, 1987), especially chapter 4 "Thurgood Marshall and the Maryland Connection"; Bruce A. Thompson, "The Civil Rights Vanguard: The NAACP and the Black Community in Baltimore, 1931–1942," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park, 1996.

Lyrics for "Maryland, My Maryland," Official Version

The despot's heel is on thy shore,
Maryland, My Maryland!
His torch is at thy temple door,
Maryland, My Maryland!
Avenge the patriotic gore
That flecked the streets of Baltimore,
And be the battle queen of yore,
Maryland! My Maryland!

Hark to an exiled son's appeal,
Maryland, My Maryland!
My Mother State! to thee I kneel,
Maryland, My Maryland!
For life or death, for woe or weal,
Thy peerless chivalry reveal,
And gird thy beauteous limbs with steel,
Maryland! My Maryland!

Thou wilt not cower in the dust,
Maryland, My Maryland!
Thy beaming sword shall never rust,
Maryland, My Maryland!
Remember Carroll's sacred trust,
Remember Howard's warlike thrust,-
And all thy slumberers with the just,
Maryland! My Maryland!

Come! 'tis the red dawn of the day,
Maryland, My Maryland!
Come with thy panoplied array,
Maryland, My Maryland!
With Ringgold's spirit for the fray,
With Watson's blood at Monterey,
With fearless Lowe and dashing May,
Maryland! My Maryland!

Come! for thy shield is bright and strong,
Maryland, My Maryland!
Come! for thy dalliance does thee wrong,
Maryland, My Maryland!
Come to thine own anointed throng,
Stalking with Liberty along,
And sing thy dauntless slogan song,
Maryland! My Maryland!

Dear Mother! burst the tyrant's chain,
Maryland, My Maryland!
Virginia should not call in vain,
Maryland, My Maryland!
She meets her sisters on the plain-
Sic semper! 'tis the proud refrain
That baffles minions back amain,
Maryland, My Maryland!
Arise in majesty again,
Maryland! My Maryland!

I see the blush upon thy cheek,
Maryland, My Maryland!
For thou wast ever bravely meek,
Maryland, My Maryland!
But lo! there surges forth a shriek,
From hill to hill, from creek to creek,
Potomac calls to Chesapeake,
Maryland! My Maryland!

Thou wilt not yield the Vandal toll,
Maryland, My Maryland!
Thou wilt not crook to his control,
Maryland, My Maryland!
Better the fire upon thee roll, Better the shot, the blade, the bowl,
Than crucifixion of the Soul,
Maryland! My Maryland!

I hear the distant thunder-hum,
Maryland, My Maryland!
The Old Line bugle, fife, and drum,
Maryland, My Maryland!
She is not dead, nor deaf, nor dumb-
Huzza! She spurns the Northern scum!
She breathes! She burns! She'll come! She'll come!
Maryland! My Maryland!

Alternate Lyrics: "The Rebel Raid to Maryland"

Lee and Jackson tried a raid,
In Maryland, my Maryland,
Expecting Brothers to their aid,
From Maryland, my Maryland.
To Pennsylvania they were bound,
To forage on our Union ground;
But all the[i]r hopes we did confound
In Maryland, My Maryland.

New Rebels, Traitors, let me tell
In Maryland, My Maryland
You did not treat your Brothers well
In Maryland, my Maryland.
You boasted to them what you would do
When Jackson came with his crew;
How gloriously you'd help them thro',
In Maryland, My Maryland.

And when to Fredericktown they came
In Maryland, My Maryland,
To meet them you were all ashamed,
In Maryland, My Maryland
A Naked, hungry, starving band,
As e'er disgraced a Nation's land;
But Lee, he boldly took a stand,
In Maryland, My Maryland.

McClellan came on with his men,
In Maryland, My Maryland,
The Rebel forces for to rend,
In Maryland, My Maryland
In deadly conflict they engaged;
The cannon's peal as thunder raged,
And proud men's hearts were assuaged
In Maryland, My Maryland.

Our braves made them all retreat
From Maryland, my Maryland,
And they acknowledge whipped and beat
In Maryland, My Maryland
Our mean both bold and brave were slain
Their life's rich blood our soil did stain,
But we'll immortalize their name
In Maryland, My Maryland .

Brave General Reno nobly fell,
In Maryland, My Maryland;
But of his courage need we tell,
In Maryland, My Maryland
The Stars and Stripes they were his pride
He bled and for them nobly died,
That banner proud waved o'er his side
In Maryland, My Maryland.

Our Generals, Colonels, Majors too,
In Maryland, my Maryland
Fought as the brave and manly do,
In Maryland, My Maryland
Captains Lieutenants, Privates, all,
They neither feared the sword or ball,
But promptly answered every call,
In Maryland, My Maryland.

To those that bled—died for us here
In Maryland, My Maryland
We for you weep a heartfelt tear,
In Maryland, My Maryland
With God to help you on your way; You were victorious on that day,
When Rebels thought to have full sway
In Maryland, My Maryland.

Middletown *Valley Register*, November 21, 1862.

Alternate Lyrics: "My Maryland"

The rebel feet are on our shore,
Maryland! My, Maryland!
I smell 'em half a mile or more,
Maryland! My, Maryland!
Their shockless hordes are at my door,
Their drunken Generals on my floor,
What now can sweeten Baltimore?
Maryland! My, Maryland!

Back to our nose's dire appeal,
Maryland! My, Maryland!
Oh, unwashed rebs, to you we kneel,
Maryland! My, Maryland!
If you can't purchase soap, oh steal
That precious article—I feel
Like scratching from the head to heel,
Maryland! My, Maryland!

You're covered thick with mud and dust,
Maryland! My, Maryland!
As though you'd been upon a bust,
Maryland! My, Maryland!
Remember, it is scarcely just,
To have a filthy fellow thrust,
Before us, till he's been scrubb'd fast,
Maryland! My, Maryland!

I see no blush upon they cheek,
Maryland! My, Maryland!
It's not been washed for many a week,
Maryland! My, Maryland!
To get thee clean—tis truth I speak—
Would dirty every stream and creek
From Potomac to Chesapeake,
Maryland! My, Maryland!

(Frederick) *Maryland Union*, November 6, 1862.

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